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THE  
CASE  
OF THE

Regale

And of the  
PONTIFICAT  
STATED.

In a CONFERENCE  
Concerning the INDEPENDENCY of the  
CHURCH,

Upon any POWER on Earth, in the Exercise of Her  
Purely SPIRITUAL POWER and AUTHORITY.

As likewise a *Defence* of it (in a *Supplement*) being a  
*Reply* to an *Answer* lately Publish'd against it.

Also a *Preface*, wherein is shewed, That there is no  
*Danger* in Asserting the *Divine* and *Inherent Rights*  
of the *Church*: But, on the other hand, That there  
is *Greater Security*, and an *In-Dispensible Obligation*  
to Insist upon them.

By Mr. *Wm. Leslie*  
The Second Edition with Additions.

PSAL. ix. 3.

*If the Foundations be Destroy'd,  
What can the Righteous do?*

London, Printed for C. Brome, G. Strahan, &c. At the  
Gun in Ludgate-street, and at the Golden Ball over-  
against the Royal Exchange. MDCCII.

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**Supplement.**

Page 1. line 2. for 19th. read 15th.



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THE  
PREFACE.

1. **S**INCE the first Edition of this  
*Conference, The Present State*  
*of the Controversy* (which is  
the Subject of *Sect. X.*) has receiv'd  
some *Variation*. There were then two  
*Hypotheses*, one of *Dr. Hody*, and some  
who follow'd him, not to justify the  
*Regale* in *Lay-Deprivations*; but con-  
taining *Precedents* of *submitting* to it,  
when we cou'd not *Help* it, that is,  
when it was too *Strong* for us; and so  
*Ir-resistable*: Provided only, That the  
*second Bishops* put into the Room of the  
*Depriv'd* were *Orthodox* in the *Faith*.  
The other way taken by *Dr. Wake*,  
and which, I think, more generally  
obtain'd, was to keep more aloof from  
the *Cause*, and go in the *Historical* way  
of giving account of the *Progress* and  
*Procedure* of the *Regale* in several Coun-  
tries, more especially here in *England*:  
Still happening to keep the *Byass* on  
the side of the *Regale*, whereby ones  
own Opinion is laid less open to  
B Objections;



Objections, because it is not so expressly declar'd, and there is more Room for *Defence*; especially where some *Strictures* are scatter'd up and down looking towards the *Original*, and *Inherent Rights* of the *Church*; which may serve, upon Occasion, to explain other Passages, when taken in the *Opposite* Sense.

II. Since that time Dr. *Atterbury* has appear'd in Opposition to Dr. *Wake*; and Dr. *Kennet* has reply'd in his *Defence*. But this Dispute is limited to the *Laws* of the Land, particularly as to *Convocations*, their Right to *Meet*, *Sit*, *Act*, &c. which depends upon *Records*, *Constitutions* of *Acts of Parliament*, and other *Law-Points*.

I intend not to interpose in this Dispute; only this Use I have to make of it, that both Parties do now happily agree in the *Original*, and *Inherent Rights* of the *Church*, deriv'd from *Christ*, as a *Society* distinct from, and *Independent* upon the *State*, even when the *State* is *Christian*. This Dr. *Kennet* does frankly declare to be the chief End that mov'd him to write his Book, viz. To assert the Nature of the *Christian Church*, as a *Society* endowed with *Fundamental Rights*, to preserve its own Being: And among these, a Right for the Governours to *Assemble*, and agree upon the common Measures of Faith  
and



## The Preface. iii

and Unity, as at first Independent, on the Heathen, so even now on the Christian Magistrate; when the Necessities of Desertion, or Persecution so require. Pref. p. ix. In such a Case, (says he, in his Book, p. 98.) let the Church be true to Christ, and to the Powers she receiv'd from him. This is the Original Right which we assert; and p. 109. The Bishop of each Diocese had an Original Right to condene his own Clergy, and with their Advice and Consent to ordain such Rules and Orders as were proper to declare the Doctrine, and regulate the Disciplin of their own Body. And p. 197. That the Christian Church was endowed, as a Society, with a Divine Right of Preserving the Faith, and securing the Disciplin that shou'd be necessary to hinder the Gates of Hell from prevailing against her. In order to this End, the Church Governours had Authority to meet, and consult of all urgent Affairs; and when so Assembl'd, their Resolutions and Decrees were thought Declaratory of the Sense of Scripture, and of sound Traditions; and were so far binding to the Inferiour Preists and People. And p. 201. That it was so in England, as in other Churches. That from the time that Church Government was here Established, our Bishops had a Right of calling their own Clergy to a Synod, and to enter upon Debates, and draw up Rules and Orders that should be binding within

*that special Jurisdiction. That this Power was apparently exercis'd for some Ages, to the Times of Reformation, under Hen. VIII. when the Submission of the Clergy made all Diocesan Meetings to be Executive Visitations, no longer Legislative Synods. And that as every Bishop in England was thus Supreme in his own Diocese; so that the English Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, were call'd by their respective Metropolitans; And they both (says he, p. 202.) exercised this Spiritual Right, without recourse to the Civil Magistrate; Assembling their Comprovincial Bishops and Clergy at their own Time and Place, and Ordaining by their own Ecclesiastical Authority, even down to the Reformation. But then the Submission transferr'd all Power of Convening Provincial Synods from the Metropolitans to the King; and likewise alter'd the Legality of Canons and Constitutions, before valid in Conscience and in Christianity Courts by the pure Synodical Authority, but now to be Ratify'd and Authorized by the Regal Supremacy.*

Whether this Authorizing by the Regal Supremacy is not to be understood only as to the Civil Authority added to the Ecclesiastical Synods and Canons, as hereafter explain'd, Sect. ix. Or whether Dr. K. does not extend that Submission too far, in the Legal Sense: Whether Dr. K's Interpretation of it,  
or

## *The Preface.* V

or his must stand, I will not here Dispute. But sure the most *Christian* Sense it will bear ought to be put upon it. For if it be meant, as here express'd by Dr. K. to alter the *Obligation of Conscience*, as to the *Canons of the Church*, from our *Ecclesiastical Governours*, to the *Secular*, it is most *Anti-Christian*, and roots up at once, the whole *Foundations of a Christian Church*. But we hope better things; for Dr. K. asserts, p. 83. 84. *That Dr. Wake and his Friends are for the Church, having Inherent Right to Convocations*; and names that Passage of his Quoted in the Case, p. 126. (here p. 118.) to prove it, and says, *I like these Principles extreamly well, and sure my Church of England Brethren all approve them.*

And he Quarrels with Dr. A—— for not asserting of these *Original and Independent Rights of the Church*; but standing wholly upon her *Legal Establishment*, by the *Constitution of our Municipal Laws*. He (that is Dr. A—— says Dr. K. p. 107. 108.) *claims no Divine Right*. He quotes not one Text for the *Divine Right of Councils, or Ecclesiastical Assemblies*. He proposes no one Reason for the necessity of such an *Inherent and Original Power in the Church*. He does not labour to prove that *Christian Magistrates cannot Retract, nor a National Clergy recede from Antecedent Rights*——

*He waves the Christian, and Acts only the English-Man.*

*He builds* I am sorry the Church of England  
*all upon the* is come to that pass, that to assert on-  
*Nature of* ly Her Rights, is to wave the Christian.  
*our Govern-* Have not our *Laws* confirm'd to her  
*ment, and* all the *Rights* belonging to a *Christian*  
*the Consti-* Church? If not, sure they shou'd be  
*tution of* mended.  
*our Church*

*and Nation* Here appears the necessity of Main-  
*as establish-* taining and keeping up *Principles*, with-  
*ed by suc-* out putting the extream Cases of *Per-*  
*cessive Laws* secution or *Desertion*. Those are *Invi-*  
*and con-* dious Topicks, and no *Christian* State  
*firm'd by* will bear the *Reflection*.  
*perpetual*  
*Practice.*

If the *Independence* of the Church,  
 not only on *Heathen* but *Christian* Ma-  
 gistrates, be an *Original*, *Inherent* and  
*Divine* Right, with which *Christ* has  
 invested Her: It ought *always* to be  
 Maintain'd. Good *Princes* will be most  
 willing to allow it. But if granted  
 to them, others will not part with it.  
 Nor will they indure to have their  
*Encroachments* upon the *Rights* of the  
 Church, call'd either *Persecution*, or  
*Desertion*. And they will always find  
*Time-servers* and *Flatterers* to support  
 them in it. And those whose *Zeal*  
 wou'd prompt them to *Oppose* it, may  
 be call'd *Hot-men*, whose *Indiscretion*  
 might provoke the *Civil-Government*  
 to have an evil Eye upon the Church,  
 and deprive them of the remainder of  
 those



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those *Civil* Rights which they enjoy.

Then it is hard to tell where we shou'd *stop*, in case of such *Encroachments*. Better bear this and the other, than hazard a *Breach* with the *State*.

So that, by this, the *Church* must bear on without End: And perhaps all of the *Clergy* themselves may not agree, when a *stop* is fit to be made. This will make *Divisions* and *Animosities* amongst them.

Besides, How can *Rights* that are *Divine*, be given up? If they are *Divine*, no *Human* Authority can either *supersede*, or *limit* them.

If they are *Divine*, it is *Sacrilege* to *invade* them, or to *give them up*; as it had been in *Aaron*, to have compounded for any part of that Authority which *God*, annex'd to his *Priesthood*. And it had been greater *Sacrilege* (as in *Korah*, &c.) to have rob'd *Aaron* of his *Authority*, than of his *Holy Vestments*, or the *Temple*, or the *Altar* of any of their *Ustensils*; for the *Consecration* of *Persons* is more than of *Things*. And *God* is more nearly represented in his *Priests*, than in *Temples* made with *Hands*.

Again, How can *Rights* that are *Inherent*, be given up? If they are *Inherent*, they are *Inseperable*. The *Right* to *Meet*, to *Consult*, to make *Rules* or *Canons* for the *Regulation* of the *Society*,

is *Essential* to every *Society*, as such; and consequently to the *Church*, as she is a *Society*. Can she then part with what is *Essential* to her?

But however, the Province which Dr. A. did undertake, was not the *Original*, or *Divine Rights* of the *Church*, but only the *Constitution*, as now by *Law* Established; as he tells us in his *Preface*, p. 2. *A learned adversary, indeed, has taken him (Dr. Wake,) to Task, upon the General Principles of Church Discipline, and Government: But, in the Domestick part of the Dispute, which relates to our own Laws and Usages nothing has been said.* And that is the Reason he undertook it; therefore his not mentioning the other, which was not his Subject, is no Argument that he wav'd it, or gave it up; he refer'd to it with an Approbation of the *Author*, and consequently of the *Subject*.

But Dr. A. is accus'd for coming short, even as to the *Legal Rights* of the *Church*, and not desiring more than the *Laws* at present will bear.

Well then, They who lay this to his Charge shou'd be sure to go further themselves than he has done, at least not to Oppose him, even in those smaller Rights for which he contends.

III. But however they agree about these Matters, I wish with all my  
Heart

Heart they had put on more *Decency* and *Moderation* on both sides in the Management, and forbore those *Personal* Reflections, which are a *Deformity* in such *Learned* Tracts, wherein the *latest* is still most to blame, especially where he takes upon him to reprehend the same Fault in another.

Dr. A's Work had been more perfect, if he had left out that Charge of *Ignorance* against Dr. W. His *Learned* and former useful *Labours* will clear him from this. *Ignorance* will not be his *Excuse*, and therefore ought not to be his *Accusation*.

And if Dr. W. had been more sparing in his Censures of the *Present English Clergy*, his *Authority of Christian Princes* had not been less acceptable.

Lastly, Dr. K. has, I believe, recommended himself but to a very few, by the *Mal-Treatment* he has afforded to Dr. A. which I will not repeat, because I wou'd have it dye. It is only *Wit* and *Passion*; it fastens not upon him. And the Marks of *Favour* and *Approbation* he has receiv'd for his Work, not only from the *Convocation* and *University*, but also from the Honourable *House of Commons*, shews that they had a different Estimation of Dr. A. and his *Work*, from what Dr. K. does represent them.

The

The Difference betwixt their Performances seems to be this, That Dr. A design'd to retrieve some of those *Legal Rights* to the Church, which were lost, particularly her *Right of Meeting in Convocation*, which had of late Years been worn into Disuse, and render'd wholly *Precarious*; and has proved so successful in it, that to his *Book* chiefly we owe the present *Convocation*.

But in the managing of this, he has dropt several *Expressions* which are not Tenable, as of *Desiring no more*, &c. Perhaps to smoothe the Way towards obtaining of this that he asked, which will not *Justifie*, though it may in some sort *mitigate* the *Excesses* that were meant for a good End.

As where he says, (1st. Edit. p. 112.) *The Statute of Submission is now of their (the Clergy's) Grievances, nor do they ask, or wish a Repeal of it.* This must pass for a *Compliment*.

As likewise what he says of the *Protestant Clergy*, p. 113. *Who have been more than once Instrumental in shaking off Yokes of every kind from the Necks of English-men.* This is lyable to *Misconstruction*, as if they had countenanced former *Rebellions*, in all of which the same *Pretences* were made.

And p. 362. He leans too much to *Popularity* on their Behalf, as to the present *Revolution*, where he says, That



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That none had been more Instrumental than they in promoting the common Deliverance. The Expression is General, and the Generality of them have not a good Title to so great a Boast. If he means those who chose to comply, and submit, rather than to suffer, their Numbers are indeed great: But as for those who had an Hand in the Promoting, Contriving, and Bringing about the Revolution, there are not I believe so many as a half Dozen of the Clergy who have the Honour to be suspected in it, or who were intrusted with the Secret.

For, not to reckon upon the Archbishop, and Eight other Bishops with him, (who were near the half of the then Bishops in the Kingdom) and betwixt three and four hundred of the Inferiour Benefic'd Clergy, besides many others who are not known, who have stood their Ground; This appears yet more in that Reluctancy which many, and the most Eminent of those who comply'd, did express in their Swallowing the Oaths, with Declarations, higher and lower, some sticking out to the last Day, and some even after. Let Justice be done, and let not Posterity be imposed upon; let neither Clergy nor Laity share more either of Reproach, or Glory, than what they have deserved.

But

But bating such *Popular* and *Un-  
garded-Expressions* as these, the *Design* of  
Dr. A's *Book* was clearly for the pro-  
moting the *Interest* of the *Church*, and  
Retrieving some of her lost *Legal Secu-  
rities*.

Whereas on the other Hand Dr. K.  
has *Expressions* very full for asserting  
*Original* and *Independent Rights* of the  
*Church*. But then he would not have  
them *Insisted* upon, and gives them up.  
And the *Drift* of his *Book*, is to op-  
pose those *Regal Rights* of the *Church*,  
which Dr. A. has set himself to Main-  
tain. Nor does Dr. K. set up other  
and better in the room of them; he  
only acts the Part of an *Opponent*.

And as to *Expressions* of *Giving up*, &c.  
and receding from *Rights*, he seems to  
*Assert*, Dr. K. needs *Excuse* as well as  
Dr. A. and his *Reproaches* do retort.

But I wish rather their *Disputes*  
should turn upon the *Merit* of the  
*Cause*, than upon those *Personal Ad-  
vantages* think they may gain up-  
on one another, as to *Expressions* and  
*Manner of Management*, Which serves  
more to *Expose* both, than to *Justifie*  
either.

Is it not possible for these great Men  
to *Differ*, without *falling Foul* on one  
another.

But when Men of *Parts* Encounter,  
let them *Undervalue* one another's  
*Strength*

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Strength as they please ; yet none can believe either of them. And *Undervaluing* is not the *Heroical* way. The more I give to my Enemy, where he *deserves* it, it shews I am the less *afraid* of him, and renders my *Victory* more *Manly*, wherein I *overcome* him.

If I should draw the *Displeasure* of either, or both Parties upon me, for this *Interposing*, it is for what I thought a *Charitable* Office, and is capable of a good *Construction*.

However, I willingly leave an unpleasing Subject, *Personal Contests* and *Animosities*. But I must take leave to reason freely upon the *Cause* it self.

IV. There is one thing therefore which I would desire to be explain'd upon this Head, which is, Dr. K's *Request* to his *Brethren*, ( at the end of his *Preface*, p. 12. ) *not to set up for Independence, and another fatal Separation, which none but our Enemies, ( says he ) can Project, or Wish.* I beg his Assistance to understand this, for I wou'd not willingly *mistake* another, or be *misunderstood* my self. I take the Meaning to be, That we ought not to put the *Church* out of the *Protection* of the *State*, that is agreed on all Hands, if we can possibly help it, by any lawful Means; for *Protection* is better than *Persecution*. But why shou'd *Independence* do this? Or why shou'd that infer a  
Separation

*Separation* betwixt the *Church* and the *State*? Suppose the *Church* were *Independent* upon the *State*, as to her purely *Spiritual* Power and Authority, as Dr. K. does allow she *Originally* and *Inherently* is; this wou'd make a *Separation* of her Power from that of the *State*, but no *Separation* of *Communion*, it wou'd Cement the *Communion* much more strictly; nor wou'd it exempt the *Members* of the *Church* from being likewise *Members* of the *State*, and answerable to the *State* in all *Civil-Matters*; so that here is no *Separation* on that side.

Therefore I suppose Dr. K's Meaning to be, That if the *Church* thou'd set up for *Independency*, the *State* wou'd never bear it, and so withdraw their *Protection*, and *Persecute* the *Church*.

If this be the Meaning, it seems too severe a *Reflection* upon any *Christian* *State*, to suppose, that they will rather *Persecute* the *Church* of *Christ*, than suffer her to enjoy those *Original* and *Inherent Rights*, with which *Christ* our *Blessed Saviour* did invest her; besides that, (as shew'd hereafter, *Sect. V.*) it is more for the *Security* and *Interest* of the *State*, to have the *Church* so *Independent* than otherwise.

But what if the *State* will not be of this Opinion, nor let go that *Dependence* upon them, to which they have reduc'd



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educ'd the Church even in her *Spiritual* Capacity? Then the Church must not set up her *Independency*, (That, I suppose, is the Meaning) for fear of displeasing the State.

But the Displeasure can only be as to the *Manner* of setting it up. It by *Rebellion* and *Arms*, the State has reason to be displeas'd.

But will they be displeas'd at the very *Naming* it, or *Thinking* of it? Then Dr. K. and Dr. W. (as Dr. K. has given us his Sense, and he says of all their Brethren of the Church of England) have incurr'd this *Displeasure*, because they have positively asserted it, in what is before quoted.

And since we find that the State does very well bear the asserting it; and Dr. K. saw no *Danger* in that: Wou'd they be more displeas'd at the *Proving* of it, and if he bestow'd a little Pains in *perswading* them to it?

He complains in his Book, as all other good Men do, as our very Office of *Communion* does, of the great failure of *Discipline* amongst us, and wishes it were *Restor'd*; that is, the State wishes

For our *Liturgy* is an *Act of Parliament*. And if the State does much wish it, as they have worded it in that office, Where is the *Danger* of *perswading* them to it?

They

They have granted a great deal to those who have not so good Pretence as you. See what is granted to the very *Presbyterian Kirk* in *Scotland*. You cannot say they will not Grant, till they have Refus'd.

Dr. K. is angry with Dr. A. for not desiring more *Legal Rights* to be Restor'd to the Church; And will he not then desire the *Restoration* of those which he himself acknowledges to be *Divine*?

For which there is this further Reason, That if *Christ* left no more *Inherent-Power* in his Church than he knew was necessary for that *Discipline* which was requisite to secure her from the *Gates of Hell* prevailing against her, (Dr. K. has very well worded it, what is above quoted) then will follow what he Reproves Dr. A. for not Remembring, That *Christian Magistrate* cannot Retract, nor a *National Clergy* Recede from *Antecedent Rights*. Though if the *Christian Magistrate* had a Mission to Retract, yet the *National Clergy* ought not to Recede from them. And if not to Recede, surely much more have they a Right to *Expostulate*, *Represent*, to *Entreat*, and to *Protest*.

If the *clergy* must not so much speak for their *Inherent Rights*, what is but sufficient to enable them to execute the Office which *Christ*

committed to them, How will they give up their *Lives* for it?

How will they answer to the great *Shepherd* for the *Effects* of that want of *Disciplin* they seem to bemoan! For all that loose of *Atheism*, *Heresies*, and *Immoralities* which abound amongst us; and a little wholesome *Disciplin* might have restrain'd! What have they done towards the *Re-gaining* of it! Nay, who cou'd have *taken* it from them! Or can now *keep* it from them! The *Civil Magistrate*, it is true, may choose whether he will assist the *Censures* of the *Church*, by *Temporal Penalties*; and he must answer for this to *God*: But the *Censures* are still in the Power of the *Church*, and she cannot *Recede* from them. And would still have their *Effect* upon all truly *Conscientious*, as in the *Primitive Church*; and this wou'd make more to be *Conscientious*, and restore the now well nigh lost Notion of a *Church*, and of *Religion*. Are these *small* things not worth the *Contending* for! Not worth the *Attempt*! No, not fit to be *mention'd*, for fear of the *State*!

Let not the Fault be laid altogether upon the *State*; it canot be laid there, till due *Application* has been made to them, till they are sufficiently *appriz'd* of the *Merits* of the *Cause*; till they are *Instructed* by those whose *Office* it is to *instruct* them, to whom *Christ* has given

C

given that *Command* and *Charge*, not to be forced or *Brib'd* out of their Hands, by all the *Powers* or *Artifice* of *Hell*.

But if (alas!) instead of this, *Pillows* are sew'd under the *Arms* of the *States*, if they are made believe, That they are still doing *Right*; that the *Clergy* desire no such thing; that it is better with them, as it is. And that it is but a *discontented Party* wou'd set up *Original Rights*, &c. If the *Eraastian* Principles are *inculcated* into them: And what Dr. K. here justly calls the *Divine Rights* of the *Church*, are represented as *Odious* and *Dangerous*, at best, not now *necessary*: How will the *State* be chargeable by that *Church*, which has *misled* them. No! the *State* will rather rise up in the *Judgment* and condemn that *Church* which has instructed them no better. And all those *Vices* and *Heresies*, and *Schisms*, and *Rebellions* too, *Destruction* and *Bloodshed* which have defac'd *Christian Churches*, and ruin'd *States*, corrupted *Religion*, and debauch'd *Mens Lives* and *Principles*, for want of that *Discipline* which *Christ* left *Inherent* in his *Church*, will be chiefly charg'd upon that *Church*, which did *recede* from that *Discipline*; and so despoil'd her self of the proper *Arms* of her *Ministry*, with which *Christ* her *Head* had endow'd her; and promis'd to stand by her, and protect her, even unto the end of the *World*.

But



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But they who have not *Faith* in this, soon grow *weary* of the *Theocracie*, and dare not *trust* to it. No, But will have a *King* to *Reign* over them, like the *Nations* round about, when the *Lord* their *God* was their *King*. They must have a *King* to be *Head* of the *Church*; who else, say they, will *defend* the *Church*?

But if they wou'd *trust* to *Christ*, and have *Faith* in his *Promises*; and not fear to execute the *Commission* he has given to them, in all *Sobriety* and *Moderesty*, yet with *Courage* and *Constancy*, for the good of the *Souls* of Men; and without doing of which, they know, they confels, That they cannot discharge that great *Trust*, as they ought to do; nor be true to their *Master*, nor to the *Souls* committed to their *Charge*; many of whom they see run *Headlong* every day, to all *Destruction* and *Perdition*, for want of that *Disciplin* which they dare not execute; only content themselves to wish every *Ash-Wednesday*, that it were *Restor'd*; send one poor longing *Wish* after it, once a Year, but move neither *Hand* nor *Foot* towards it, for fear of displeasing him whom they have chosen *King* and *Head* of the *Church*, not *next* and *immediately* under, but in the *Stead* of *Christ*, for such they have made him, if they think he can *dispense* with, and *over-rule* that *Disciplin*

C 2

ciplin which *Christ* has left in his *Church*; and which is absolutely necessary, which *Christ* our Lord thought so, for the good Government of his *Church*.

But, I say, if the *Church* wou'd trust to him, more than to the *Arm* of *Flesh*, she need not fear the Power of *Kings*. No, *Christ* wou'd then give her *Kings*, not as *Heads* and *Spiritual Fathers* over her, but as *Nursing-Fathers* to *Protect*, *Love*, and *cherish* her, to *Reverence*, and to *serve* her, as the *Spouse* of *Christ*, instead of such *Fathers* as she has made *Kings* to be over her self, and of whom she now stands in awe, and dare not exert the Power *Christ* has given her, without their good *Liking*: She shou'd then have *Children* whom she might make *Princes* in all the *Earth*, *Psal.* 45. 16. *Kings* wou'd become her *Sons*, and her *Servants*, instead of being her *Fathers*.

V. My Brethren, let me freely speak to you, These *Promises* must be fulfill'd, and in this *World*, for they are spoke of it, and belong not to the *State* of *Heaven*, but to the *Condition* of the *Church*, in all the *Earth*. All the *Prophets* that have been since the *World* began, have spoken of these *Days*. Therefore, they will surely come; and though ye have lien among the *Pots*, (in the most *Servile* and *Abject* *Condition*) yet ye shall be as the *Wings* of a *Dove*, that is cover'd with *Silver*, and her *Feathers* like

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like Gold, Psal. 68. 13. And those Kings that oppose you, shall flee before you, and they of the Household shall divide the Spoil. For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall Perish; yea, those Nations shall be utterly wasted. This is not yet fulfil'd, and must be in this World, for there are no Nations or Kingdoms, (except that of God alone) in the other.

When this Time will come, is reserv'd with God. But before it comes, he will open the Eyes of Men, and stir up their Zeal to bring it to pass, and he will prosper their Endeavours; and blessed are those who shall contribute towards it.

If it be not near, yet we may now rejoyce to see it, as Abraham did, afar off, and to testifie to the World, that it is not forgot, that we have still Faith in what the Holy Scriptures have, in so many Places, assured us of; and this may stir up the Faith of others.

But because we know not the Time, therefore we must always Work, as if it were the Time. It may not be brought to pass in a Day, and there may be Dispositions of Men requisite to Precede, may be, some Ages, to prepare the Way for it. The old Primitive Principles, and Notion of the Church, and Prerogative of the Peculium must certainly be reviv'd. That Secular Spirit which the Principles of *Eraastianism*

have begot in the *Clergy* must be *Exorcis'd*; and their poor *Fear* of *Temporal* Powers. They must be brought to believe at last, That *God* is *stronger* than the *Devil*, and *Christ* than all the *Kings* upon *Earth*. Then they will begin to *trust* in him, and to *venture* something upon his *Protection*. Then, the *Noble*, the truly *Humble*, but *Magnanimous Spirit* of the *Gospel* will *Rise* like the *Sun*; and all those *Clouds* of *Objections* and *Fears* which now *benumb* our *Souls*, will soon *Evaporate*, and *Light* and *Life* will be restor'd to us. Then *Stronger* will be that is in us, than he that is in the *World*; we shall get the *Ascendant* over him, and conquer him, as *Light* does *Darkness*; he will not be able to resist the *Spirit*, and the *Power* by which we speak. *Amen*  
*Lord Jesu*, come quickly.

VI. He is a coming! His *Way* is preparing; and with that *Force* and *Power* that nothing can resist. He has begun to open the *Eyes* of his *Church*, and to break off her *Fetters*. Her *Original Independence* from all *Kings* and *States*, whether *Christian* or other, is set up, *Cum bono Deo!* asserted to be *Divine* by those who are afraid to set it up, but it is set up! and without pretending to *Prophecie*, we may say, it will stand. It will go on and *Prosper*, till this *Drop* will become a *River*, and that *River* encrease unto a *Sea*, which may en-

com-



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compass other *Lands*. None of our *Divines* dare *oppose* it, without, at the same time, *confessing* to it. The *Truth* is grown *Flagrant*, none dare *oppose* it *bare-fac'd*. The *Priest-Craft-men* are *silenc'd*, for they must deny the *Bible*, if they speak *Sense* against it. And it is not come to that time of *Day* yet! The *People* will not let go their *Bibles*, nor suffer it to be *tramp'l'd* upon, where they know it. This keeps in the *Deists*, who love to be always on the *safest* side. The same *Popularity* will influence *Kings* and *States*, who wou'd not adventure, in a Country so far *Christian* as *England* is still left, to make an *Act* to *Burn* the *Bible*: and it is as much out of their *Power* to hinder the *People* from apprehending the true *Meaning* of it, in a *Case* which is made very *Plain* to them, and sufficiently *Prov'd*.

But, as I said, it is the greatest *Reflection* that can be upon a *Christian Government*, to suppose, that our *Governours* wou'd *obstruct* the *Truth* of the *Gospel* of *Christ*, or not let go any *Encroachments* they had made upon it, when once they are made sensible of it; or that they wou'd not rather *Thank* than *Persecute* those who shou'd make them so *sensible*, especially those whose *Office* it is so to do: whom they have *protected* and *established* by *Law* for that very end, to instruct them in the *whole Council* of *God*; without do-

ing of which, if they leave any part undeclar'd unto them; so far as they know it, they are not free from their Blood, *Acts* 20. 26, 27. Especially such a material Part as the Original, Fundamental, and Divine Powers with which Christ has invested his Church, and without which, it is impossible she shou'd effectually, and to the full Purpose intended by Christ, discharge that great Trust committed to her; or Administer, as she ought to do, to the Souls under her Care, or give that Account for them, which will be requir'd at her Hands by Christ, according to those Powers he left with her; and not as she has, out of Fear, or whatever other Consideration, given them up; or suffer'd them to be wrested from her, without her contending for them, even to the Death.

But to suppose our Governours so averse and prejudic'd against the Truth, such Nabals and Sons of Belial, that a Man cannot speak to them, is, in the most effectual Manner, to alienate the Affections of the People from them. To make Men think, that they will not bear our Reasoning with them out of the Holy Scriptures; but are resolv'd to keep what they have got, Right or Wrong, and will not Restore to Christ, let them be never so much convinc'd!

Therefore I think it an Argument of much greater Deference towards them, to Adventure, not to think it any venture, to

Reason

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Reason with them, to Represent to them freely, but with all Decency, these Important Truths which so nearly concern their own Souls as well as others; and besides, are the greatest Security to their Government, even upon Politicks (as shew'd hereafter) and will draw them from under the Wrath of God, and Entitle them to his Blessing and Protection.

Moreover to tell them, and not to fear they will be displeas'd at it, that Christ is above them, and his Church too, and Independant on them; that they themselves are part of her Flock; and so subject to her Discipline, in that Capacity as well as any others, though intirely and without Reserve, subject to them in all Temporals.

Nay more, that if they shou'd take part with Hell against her, they shou'd not both prevail. They might pull down Vengeance upon their own Heads. But the Church will stand whether they will or not, even in England, unless the Policy of the Clergy give way so far, as to provoke God to remove their Candlestick. Nothing else can ruin them, while they remain true to their God, and are not asham'd of the Gospel of Christ, and to assert those Powers he has committed unto them; no Enchantment will prevail against our Israel. No, none. Till themselves are first enchanted and bewitched, as the foolish Galatians, not to obey the Truth,

not

not to stand by it, and contend earnestly for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints, not to speak and exhort, and rebuke with all Authority, and to let no Man despise them; for then God will despise them, and make them contemptible and base before all the People, because ye have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts.

And now I have not the least apprehension, that I have hereby given any Offence either to the Civil Government, or to the Clergy, and true Sons of the Church of England. But I would be warm, if I cou'd, some Frozen Souls who say, There is a Lyon in the Way, and are afraid where no Fear is; they flee when no one pursueth!

But if after all, they will not take the Apostles Advice, quit then like Men, be strong. If they dare not come out to stop the way against the Persecutor, they will not stand in the Gap, let them return Home. Let all that are afraid, or faint-hearted, depart out of this Battle, lest they discourage their Brethren. By the Men that lapped will I save you, saith the Lord. Let the Timorous-Prudent, and Wise stay with the Baggage, till the Danger is over, they may come in for share of the Spoil.

But let them beware, that they look not towards the Enemy; that they do not Dodge, speak One Word, but covertly, against them, and Ten expressly



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for them, to labour the Point, and  
take Pains on their side; and only  
drop an *Expression* here and there (to  
have it to say) that may be *Constru'd*  
against them; and *Reconcil'd* to them,  
if they prevail. To pick *Quarrels* with  
those who are most *Zealous* for the  
Church, and give *Intelligence* to *Erastus*.  
It is easie to see to what side they *In-*  
*cline*, and from whom they expect  
their *Reward*. This is not to be *New-*  
*sgers* (if they will be such) but *Tradi-*  
*tors*; but God will not be *mocked*: What  
a Man *Soweth*, that shall he *Reap*. He  
that is not for Us, is against Us. Whose  
Hands do I *strengthen*, when I write?  
I belong to that *Side*, however *Arti-*  
*ficially* I manage the Argument. Mens  
Actions are better *Demonstration* than  
their *Words*, which with a *double-mind-*  
*ed* Man, are always *Unstable*; and let  
not (as the *Apostle* says) such a Man  
think that he shall receive any thing of the  
Lord, whatever he may from Men.  
Woe be to fearful Hearts, and faint Hands,  
and the Sinner that goeth two ways.

Let no Man value his own Parts, or  
Learning, or undervalue those who  
stand for God and Truth; for as God  
wants no Man's Help, so is no Instru-  
ment insufficient in his Hand; and he  
often chooseth the *Meanest*, that we may  
perceive it is his Work; that the  
Praise may be to God, and not to Man.  
He destroy'd Egypt by *Frogs* and *Lice*.  
And

And *Hornets*, if arm'd with a *Divine Commission*, are an *Army* sufficient to drive out the Sons of *Anak*.

Glare not upon *legal* Establishments (though make your best use of them) till your *Eyes* are *dazl'd*, that you cannot see the *Sun*; it will have more *Power* than that *Glow-Worm*. You have stay'd long enough in this *Wilderness*, turn the Way towards *Jordan* and take Possession of *Canaan*. Assert that *Divine Rights*, in full Taile, leave not a *Hoof* of them behind. Who dare oppose what they acknowledge to be *Divine*? The World will stand by you, they find that they cannot be well without it. You have *God*, and a greater than *Moses* upon your Head. Think not *Scorn* of that *pleasant Land*. Remember the Fate of the *cautious* and *wary Spies*! whose Hearts fail'd them and persuaded the *People*, that they were not able to deal with the *Canaanites*! Remember the Judgment upon all that were *discourag'd* by them! it is no indifferent Matter to be *dis-spirited* in the Cause of *God*, and of his *Christ*! it is a downright *distrust* of *God*! and choosing *another* for our *God*! whom we think *greater* and *stronger* than he. But those helpless *Infants*, whom we are afraid to make a *Prey* to our *Enemies*, these shall possess the *Land*! and the *Carcasses* of the *Faithless Cowards* shall Fall in the *Wilderness*, and be *abhorring* to all *Flesh*.

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*Faith* is the *Life* of a *Christian*, without it he is *Dead*, quite *Dead*! and where *Faith* is but as big as a *Grain of Mustard-Seed*, there must be *Assurance*, and *Courage*, and *Zeal*. And the use of *Prudence* is, to direct this to the best *Manner of Working*: But not to make a *Dispute* whether we shou'd *Work*, or not? We must always *Work*, and God will *Work* with us. There is no *Discharge* in this *warfare*, while any *Canaanite* is left in the *Land*. We must *cry aloud*, and *spare not*; and that whether a *Stiff-necked People* *fear*, or whether they will *forbear*. Yet they shall know, that there hath been a *Prophet* among them. We cannot otherwise *deliver* our own *Souls*; they shall *dye* in their *Sins*; but their *Blood* will be required from those *Watch-Men*, who gave them not *Warning*.

Nor will their *Modesty* excuse them! that they thought not themselves *sufficient* for these things. Why then did they undertake the *Employment*?

But it is not *Modesty*, it is a cowardly *Fear*, and *Pride*. What are we poor *Worms*, that we shou'd think the *Work* of God depends upon us? Do we put in for *share* of the *Glory*? Let us do what we are *Commanded*, and leave the *Issue* to God. How do we know by what *means* or *methods* he will please to *Work*? Such Men are totally *un-concern'd* for this work. We see *Souls* a *Perishing*, and the *Enemy* sowing *Tares* at *Noon-Day*.  
Must

Must the *Husband-men* then go to sleep? The *Nation* is *Poyson'd* with *Pestilent* and *Blasphemous* Books, *ridiculing* our *Religion*, our *Holy Scriptures*, and our *Christ*: And must the *Bishops* and *Shepherds* of his *Flock* be forc'd to go to *Council* Learned in the *Law*, to know how the *Case* of *Premunire* stands, if they shou'd presume to *Censure* such *Books* without first obtaining the *K's License* for it.

Now, suppose (which I do not) that the *Act* of *Submission*, in *Construction* of *Law*, shou'd be found to extend even thus far. And suppose the *K.* shou'd not grant his *License*, or had not a mind to be *askt*; must then the *Bishops* let this *Infernal Poison* spread, and take its full *Effect*, without any *Remedy*; or else incur a *Premunire*? If so, here is a *Picture* of the *Regale* wou'd put any *Man* in doubt of his *Christianity*. And he has not yet been *Christen'd*, or has *forgot* it, who wou'd have the least *Hesitation*, or *Scruple* to *Damn* the *Act* (I mean if taken in this *Sense*) to the place from whence it came, if there were *ten thousand* other *Acts* of *Parliament* pinn'd to the back of it! It is a *Maxim* in our *Law*, That *An Act* of *Parliament* contrary to the *Law* of *God*, is *void*. And if this be not contrary, then *Christ* left no *Church* upon *Earth*, appointed no *Shepherds* to *Feed* his *Flock*, or gave them not sufficient *Authority*.



## The Preface.

xxx

authority to do it! But if any of those  
shepherds have pleaded for this *Act of*  
*Submission*, in this *Sense*, they have un-  
der-min'd their own Foundation. And  
all they return, and make *Restitution*  
all that is in their Power, They have  
not come up to the *Repentance of Ju-*  
*das*. And I shou'd be afraid to share  
their *Sin*, if I were not thus *Plain*, up-  
on this *Point*; if I leaned not, with  
my whole *Strength*, upon this main  
pillar of the *Temple of Dagon*. And  
God give the Word, any *Honest Man*  
as the *Force of a Sampson*. For the  
strength was not his, but *God's*, which  
was shew'd, by placing it his *weakest*  
part, in his *Hair*. And the *Blast of*  
*Ram's Horn*, from the Mouth of a  
priest, asserting the *Truth of the Gospel*,  
is sufficient to level the *Walls of Jeri-*  
*cho*. Perfect Love casteth out Fear.  
Every true *Christian* has *Authority* from  
*Lev. 13. 5, 6.* to apply to himself,  
even in his private Concerns, as to his  
support in this Life, that especial *Pro-*  
*mise* made to *Joshua*, *Deut. 31. 8. Josh.*  
*5. I will not leave thee, nor forsake*  
*thee*. Nay, more, what was spoke of  
! *Christ himself, The Lord is my Helper,*  
*And I will not fear what Man can do unto*  
*God*, *Psal. 56. 4, 11. 118. 6.* Then,  
re, if we have this strong assurance  
Faith, as to our own Particulars,  
his much more may we trust to it, in the  
Cause of *Christ and his Church*. Da-  
vid

vid drew this Argument from God's enabling him to kill a *Lyon*, and a *Bear*, in Defence of his own *Flock*, that he ought not to be afraid of a *Goliath*, who defied the *Armies* of *Israel*, which was the *Flock* of *God* and his *Church*, whose *Armies* are therefore call'd, *The Armies of the Living God*. An *Act* of Faith will open our *Eyes*, as of the *Prophet's* fearful *Servant*, and shew us these *Encamping* round about his *Church*, like the *Hill* on which *Elisha* sat, full of *Horses* and *Chariots* of *Fire*. Then will we see, That they that be with us, are more than they that be against us. And we will have *Courage* to say with the *Apostle*, *I can do all things through Christ who strengthneth me*.

And is not all this sufficient against one poor *Act* of *Submission*, (I mean as before, if taken in the full *Erastian* Sense) made by a *Popish* *Clergy*, lying under the *Lash* of a *Premunire*! Have we not shaken off *Poperie* yet! Are our *Bishops* still bound by their *Submissions*. Could they give away the *Rights* of their *Successors* the *Protestant Bishops*!

If they will not hear me, I hope they will give *Heed* to *Dr. Sherlock* the present *Dean* of *St. Paul's*, who, in his *Summary of the Controversies between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome*, p. 119. says very *Emphatically* *If Bishops will not exercise that Power which Christ has given them, they are*  
 accom

accountable to their Lord for it : But they cannot give it away, neither from themselves, nor from their Successors, for it is theirs, only to use, not to part with it : And therefore every Bishop may Re-assume such Rights, though a general Council shou'd give them away, because the Grant is void in its self. This makes short work with the Submission. Let Lawyers therefore look to it, how they can reconcile it with this Great and Fundamental Truth. If not, then down it must come. The Bishops are no ways concern'd. Let them try, whether any Judge in Westminster-Hall will hold up an Act of Parliament against the Gospel ! Or say, that they are most proper Judges of the Gospel, than the Bishops ! Let Erastus shew his Face without a Vizard, it is the only way to overthrow him effectually. You need not be afraid that any Christian will fall in Love with him ! But if the Bishops will submit themselves to his Yoke, who can speak in their Defence ! Some wou'd let them go, if Religion did not go with them ; and that is the reason why others wou'd have them gone. They find the Keys of their Discipline hung at the Belt of Erastus ; and some wou'd persuade them that it is best so. Let Pharaoh encrease their Burdens ; and that to think of a Deliverance, is to put a Sword in his Hand to slay us ! If it were so, Christ is stronger than Moses ;

and his Promises as sure of defending his Church. But Blessed be God, our Land is not Egypt yet; we all profess to be of Israel, and none dare say, ( whatever they think ) Who is the God of the Hebrews? And you shall not Sacrifice unto him. They who are afraid upon this Account, must think, that they have a Pharaoh over them indeed. Therefore this will be no excuse to them whether they be Try'd by God, or their Country. And it is come to that now that if they stir not a little, shew some Zeal for Religion, and Concern for the Breaches of Sion, they may be in danger of losing, I will not say quitting their Country. But they will loose the Hearts of the People, whose Eyes are all now upon them, & expect something from them, not of giving back, but of asserting the Cause of Christ and his Church. This is more Friendly Advice, than of those who wou'd persuade them to sit still, for fear of displeasing some, who perhaps, may take this very occasion of Ruining them first, with the People, in their good Opinion; and then with their Representatives. The Dissenters will play Toland against them. They have a good Faculty at making Outcries; and the Deists will not stand by them, they will laugh in their Sleeve, and give them good Words ( they are Men of Breeding ) for their Prudence and Moderation! They know how to



turn the *Tables*, as the *Game* alters; and their *Friends* will be out of *Countenance*, and *Mourn* in *Secret*. This is a *sad Truth*, but it ought to be told by those who have seen all these *Effects* of it; and can do no more, than to pray *God* to *disappoint* their *Fears* of the impending *Ruin* of this once glorious *Church*. And in order to this, that he wou'd detect all her *false Friends*, and defeat her *open Enemies*.

### A Prayer for the Deliverance and Victory of the Church.

O Almighty God, King of all Kings, and Governour of all Things, whose Power no Creature is able to resist; who hast often mightily delivered the Sons of Jacob and Joseph, and hast promised to rescue thy Church from all her Adversaries, and make her Glorious upon Earth; that it may please thee to stretch forth thy Hand upon the Furiousness of her Enemies. Abate their Pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their Devices. Amend thou Lord what is amiss in us, and confirm the Remainder that is about to Perish. Stir up thy Strength, O Lord, for us; stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought in us. Let the glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon us; prosper thou the Work of our Hands upon us; O prosper thou our Handy-Work. Turn us again, O Lord of Hosts, shew the Light

of thy Countenance, and we shall be whole  
 That we being Armed with thy Defence  
 may be preserved evermore from all Perse-  
 cution, that the Devil, or Man worketh  
 against us, to glorifie thee, who art the only  
 giver of all Victory; that we may see the  
 Felicity of thy Chosen: Rejoyce with thine  
 Inheritance, and Triumph because of the  
 Truth. Awake, awake, put on Strength  
 O Arm of the Lord; awake, as in the  
 ancient Days, in the Generations of old  
 Art not thou He that hath cut Rahab, and  
 wounded the Dragon. It is time for thee  
 Lord, to lay to thine Hand, for they have  
 made void thy Law.

O God, we have heard with our Ears,  
 and our Fathers have told us, what mighty  
 Works thou didst in their Days, and in  
 the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us  
 for thy Name's sake, For Christ Jesus  
 sake, the Captain of our Salvation, who  
 will tread down every Enemy that hath  
 Evil-will at Sion.

Lord hasten it in thy time. Thy King-  
 dom come, in Earth, as it is in Heaven  
 Remember thy Church, which thou hast  
 purchased and redeemed of old. It is time  
 that thou have Mercy upon her, yea, the  
 time is come.

Glory be to the Father, and to the  
 Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the Beginning, is now  
 and ever shall be, World without End  
 Amen.

## C A S E

O F T H E

## Regale, &amp;c.

S I R,

**A**ccording to your Desire, I  
 here give you a short and  
 clear State of the Case you  
 heard lately Discour'sd,  
 concerning the *Regale*, or Power of  
 the State over the Church, as to her  
 purely Spiritual Authority.

1. It was Agreed on all hands, That  
 the State cannot Deprive Bishops of <sup>The Case</sup>  
 their *Episcopal Character*: But that they <sup>Stated:</sup>  
 remain Bishops still; and their *Ordina-*  
*tions, Confirmations*, and other *Epi-*  
*scopal Acts* are Valid. Except such Acts  
 of *Jurisdiction* as Respect that particu-  
 lar *Dioceſs*, out of which they are E-  
 xcluded by the State. As *Viſiting* and  
*ſuſpending the Clergy* and Others. Con-  
 ſidering *Benefices*, &c. But becauſe the  
 word *Bishop* is a *Relative* word, and  
 implies a *Flock*: And that no *Bishop* is  
 made,

made, nor have been since the Days of the *Apostles*, but with Relation to a particular *Flock* or *Diocess*: Of which more hereafter, in the Case of *Abiathar*.

2. Therefor the Question was Resolv'd into this Point, Whether the *State* can Dissolve the Relation betwixt a *Bishop* and his particular *Flock* or *Diocess*: And Deprive him of the Exercise of his *Jurisdiction* within his own Proper *District*: And substitute Another *Bishop* in his Place? That is Whether the *State* can stop the Execution of the *Episcopal Commission*, in the Hands of the Proper *Bishops*, within their own *Dominions*?

Against which it was urg'd;

1.  
As to  
Kings in  
the General.

1. That to Stop the Execution of a *Commission*, is, to Render it *Ineffectual*. For what signifies a *Commission*, that cannot be Executed?

2. That no *Authority* less than that which gives any *Commission*, can Stop the Execution of it.

3. That therefore the same *Authority* which can Stop the Execution of any *Commission*, may likewise Vacate it. As *Episcopacy* is Vacated by the *State* in Scotland.

4. That all *States* have Equal *Authority* within their own *Dominion*. And by this Rule, the *Apostolical Commission* may not only be Suspended, but Superse'ded all the World over.

5. Th



5. That all the *States* in the World did for 300 Years together forbid the *Execution* of the *Apostolical Commission*; And, as much as in them lay, did *Vacat* it. Which if they had Power from God to do, then it was *Vacated*. And *Christianity* must have Perish'd in its Birth; Or have been all that Time an Unjustifiable *Rebellion*.

6. That ther is a *Spiritual Relation*, or *Marriage*, Instituted by *Christ*, betwixt the *Bishop* and his *Flock* or *Subjects*; That, as *St. Ignatius* Speaks, the *Bishop* does Represent the Person of *Christ* to Us, and does his *Vices gerere*, is His *Deputy* or *Vicar*, and the Principle of *Unity* in the *Church* which he Governs. That who keep Outward Communion with their *Bishop*, do thereby Partake of the Inward Communion with *Christ* the *Head*. That who unjustly break off from the Outward Communion of their *Bishop*, do thereby Forfeit the Inward Communion with *Christ*. That nothing ought to be done in the *Church*, nor even *Marriages* made, without the *Bishop's* Consent. That the very *Prayers* and *Sacraments* out of the Communion of the *Bishop*, are (like the *Offerings* of *Korah*) *Rebellion* against the Lord.

That this *Relation*, this *Marriage* of the *Bishop* to his *Flock*, so deeply Founded by *Christ* himself; whom *Christ*

does Impower, as His *Ambassador*, to *Marry* the *Church*, in His *Stead*, and in His *Name*; Promising to *Ratify* and *Consummate* it, in his own *Person*, for ever in *Heaven*, where the *Eternal Marriage-Feast* will be *Celebrated*: That this *Marriage* to our *Bishop*, whereby we are, by *Proxy*, Married to *Christ*, cannot be *Dissolv'd*, nor we *Divorc'd* from him, and *Marry'd* to Another *Bishop*, by any other Means than those which *Christ* has Appointed; Otherwise, the *Marriage* still Remains: And a Second *Bishop* is a Second *Husband*, that is, an *Adulterer*, while the *First Husband* still lives, and is not *Divorc'd* for a just Cause, and by an *Authority* that is *Competent*.

That if the *Authority* of *Secular Princes* be *Competent* for this, then may they *Divorce* all the *Churches* in the *World* from their *Bishops*: And either give them no more *Bishops*; Or set over them the *Basest* of Men for their *Bishops*. Then it is in the *Power* of *Infidel-Kings* to Appoint *Proxies* for *Christ*, and oblige Him to *Consummate* the *Marriage* they have Made for Him, by such *Proxies* whom they please to Name!

II.  
As to  
*Christian*  
Kings.

This turn'd the Question to the *Authority* of *Christian Princes*: Whether they had not more *Authority* over the *Church*, than *Kings* that were *Infidels*?

And

And to this it was said:

1. That the Right of the *Crown* does not alter for the Qualifications of those who wear it: And that *Dominion* is not founded in *Grace*. That therefore if *Christian* Kings Claim *Authority* over the *Church*, as a Right Inherent in the *Crown*, they must allow it to all who have a *Right* to the *Crown*. And if they hold it not as a *Right* of their *Crowns*, then they must shew how otherwise they came by it: And as they Got it, they may Lose it.

2. That the *Church* has suffer'd more under *Constantius*, *Valens*, and other *Arian* and *Heretical* Kings, than even from *Heathens*. That it is in the Power of an *Arian*, a *Socinian*, *Popish*, or *Presbyterian* King, to Corrupt the *Doctrine* of the *Church*, more, than a King who is a Profess'd *Heathen*, and open *Persecutor*.

3. That an *Orthodox* and a Good King (for a Time, as *Nero*) may turn *Heretick*, or *Apostat*, as *Julian*. And how can he be *Head* of any *Church*, who Denies the *Faith* of it? Or Indeed, how can a *King* be the *Head* of Different *Communities*? Or of any other *Communion* than that to which he keeps? For how can he be *Head* of

any Church, who is not so much as a Member of it? He may be Head of it, or of a 100 Different Churches, if there were so Many in his Dominions, that is, to be the CIVIL Head or Governor, and to Exercise the Power of the Civil Sword, in All Causes, and over All Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal: But to be the ECCLESIASTICAL Head or Governor, and to have any Sort of ECCLESIASTICAL Power or Authority, is Utterly In-Consistent, and as great a Contradiction, as that all these Different Communions can be One: That not only Episcopal and Presbyterian, Popish and Protestant, but Christian and Jew, Mahometan and Heathen, are All One and the same Church and Body: For so they must be, if they have All One HEAD. And some Kings have been, and may be again, Governors over these several sorts of Churches. They are All One BODY, in the Temporal Sense, that is, are All Subjects, and so have One HEAD, or TEMPORAL Governor: But they cannot All have One ECCLESIASTICAL Head or Governor, more than they are One ECCLESIASTICAL Body, or More than One Man can be, at once, of all these Different and Opposite CHURCHES or COMMUNIONS. More than our King (for Example) can be Episcopal in England, and Presbyterian in Scotland, and Popish in France, if he had



had the *Possession* as well as *Title* of it.

Then again, if either *Infidelity*, *Apostacy*, or *Heresie* do's Destroy the *Regale*, it must be Destroy'd as to *Some* of these *Communities*, who do lay these *Charges* upon one Another. And then the *Regale* Extends not to All *Subjects*, or *Churches*.

Again, Who shall be *Judge* of the *KING's Apostacy*, *Heresie*, &c? If the *Church*, his *Regale* lies at her Mercy. But if the *King* himself be the *Judge*, it is not to be Suppos'd that he will *Condemn* himself. And so, neither *Infidelity*, *Apostacy*, nor any thing else can hurt his *Regale*.

But once more, a *King* may Return from his *Apostacy* or *Heresie*, and if he Lost his *Regale* for that; he may Recover it again. So that, by this, the *Regale* is not *Fixt* and *Inherent* in the *Crown*, but *Fleeting* and *Casual*, may be *Gain'd* and *Lost*.

And then the former Question will occur, Who shall be *Judge* of the *Reality* and *Sincerity* of his *Conversion* and *Pretensions* to *Religion*? For it is not Impossible that a *King* may Counterfeit, on Purpose to Secure himself in the *Possession* of the *Regale*: And that for a good End, as he may think, that is, To Under-Mine that *Church*, which he could not Batter down by Main Force. And by this Means, he may do

ten times more *Mischief* to the *Church*, than if he were an *Open* and *Profest* ENEMY.

Indeed (said one) we have found it to our Cost. And the *Professions* of *Princes*, when a *Crown* is the Bait, are a Slender Security. It is like the *Sacramental-Test* to the *Dissenters*, which keeps them not from Places of Profit: But Encreases their Indignation against that *Communion*, which Imposes such hard *Terms* upon them, as not to let them get *Wealth* and *Power*, but at the Expence of their *Conscience*! That we may Probably Shipwreck the *Conscience* of a *Prince*, by Forcing him into our *Communion*: And so Undo the Greatest Security we can have from him for our *Religion*. And Bribe him to *Betray*, instead of *Protecting* Us. That therefore, we can have no Security to our *Religion*, at least None Equal, in all Human Appearance, to the Settling of the *Church* upon her own Primitive Bottom, whereon *Christ* did Place her, Independant, as to her whole *Spiritual* Authority, upon any *Earthly* Power. Tho' with sufficient Guard for their Obedience to the *State*, in all *Civil* Matters, even upon the Penalty of *Damnation*. That if the *Church* were once thus Settld, we need then be in less Pain for the *Religion* of our *Prince*, except for the Good of his  
own

own Soul: For he cou'd then Hurt  
our *Religion* no otherwise than by O-  
pen *Persecution*: Which in *England*  
wou'd not be in his Power: And it is  
not likely, that ever he wou'd At-  
tempt it. But he cou'd no longer  
*Betray* and *Under-Mine* it. He cou'd  
not then put in *Bishops* that wou'd be  
his *Tools*, and give up the *Rights* of  
the *Church*, to Purchase his Favour;  
nor wou'd they Hire *Under-Work Men*,  
to Employ their *Parts* and *Learning* to  
Dis-Arm their *Mother* of all, even  
*Legal*, Defence against her *Ravisher*, in  
hopes that they too may come, in  
their Turns, to be in his good Gra-  
ces! They will have their Reward!

4. That besides all these Cases, ther  
is that of *Lewd*, *Atheistical*, and *De-  
bauch'd Princes*, who will Prefer Men  
in the *Church* of their own Complexi-  
on, that will serve their *Lusts* and *Am-  
bition*, at least, such Mealy-Mouth'd  
ones, as will not Dare to Reprove  
them. And by this Means it will be  
in the Power of their *Vilest Favourites*,  
and *Instruments* in *Sins* not fit to be  
us'd, to Sell *Bishopricks*: And render  
*Religion* what it is now come to among  
so many, especially in *Courts*, not  
only an Empty Name, But a Cheat  
and *Imposition* upon Mankind; while  
they see it so *Prostituted*, and made a  
Pre-

Pretence to the *Basest* Purposes

5. That during the *Minority* of *Kings*, the Election of *Bishops*, and other Affairs of the *Church*, must be left in the hands of their *Governors* and *Courtiers*. And the *Church* must take her *Chance*, as to their *Religion*. Under this Head comes in likewise the *Personal Indisposition* of *Princes*, by *Sickness*, *Frenzie*, or other Accidents; and their *Necessary Absence* sometimes, on their *Important Affairs*. Their being made *Prisoners* in the Land of their *Enemies*, as some of ours have been. And many other *Casualties*. To all of which the *Church* is made *Liabie* while it Depends upon the *Regale*. But ther is one, which too often Occurs, and therefore Chiefly to be Consider'd, which is ;

6. *Revolutions* and *Rebellions* in any Nation. Here the *Church* must either *Change Sides* and *Principles*, according to the Various *Successes* of the Contending Parties : Or undergo as Various *Persecution*. For while the *Regale* is made Part of the *Church-Constitution* it thereby Necessarily brings in the *Church* to be Concern'd in all *State Revolutions*. Not only as to the *Imoth* *Moralities* or Defection from *Christian* *Principles*, wherein She ought to *Adand*



wise and *Direct*, in this, as in all other Cases: But She is hereby *Involv'd* as a Party in all *State Disputes*; And her even *Spiritual Authority* must, like *Secular-Commissions*, take out a *New Charter*, under Every New Head.

Upon all these Considerations, the *Inconveniencies*, the *Snares*, the *Scandals* that Hereby arise to the *Christian Religion*: Besides the Apparent *Absurdities* and *Contradictions* that Flow in on all sides upon this Blending of the *Sacred* and the *Civil Powers*, it did Appear to all the Company, That the Limiting of the *Regale* only to *Christian Princes*, did rather *Involve* and *Perplex* the Cause, than any ways *Solve* it. That it Rais'd much more and Greater *Difficulties* than Allowing it, as a Right of the *Crown*, to All *Princes*, without Regard to their *Religion*. That therfor, it must either be Granted even to *Infidel Kings*; or no other *Kings* whatsoever can have any Pre-*tence* to it, upon the Right of their *Crowns*.

Then it was said, That *Kings* hold III. Of the  
not their *Right* over the *Church*, *jure Incorpora-*  
*State* *Corone*, because then *Infidel*, and all *tion* of the  
*Another* sort of *Kings* must have it: But *Church*  
*istia* that upon the *Conversion* of *Kings* with the  
*Ad* and *States* to *Christianity*, ther was a *State*.  
vis Com-

*Compromise* made betwixt them and the Church, and the Church being *Incorporated* into the State, made such and such *Concessions* to the State, in Lieu of the *Protection* of the State, and other *Honours* and *Advantages* receiv'd from them. To this it was Answer'd,

I That no such *Compromise* does Appear; Nor is ther any *Record* Extant of it, or any authentical *Instrument* or *Deed* of *Conveyance* to be found.

2. That *Kings* claim not by it, but do utterly Disown it: And stand upon it, as the *Right* of their *Crowns*; and to have been Given them by God, and Attested in Holy *Scripture*; as you may see in 37 *Hen. VIII. c. 17.* and several other *Statutes*. And they make it consequently the *Right* of All *Princes*; and to have been *Always* so. But if it was by *Compromise*, then it was not *Always* so: And some *Kings* would have *More*, and some *Less* Power in *Ecclesiastical* Matters. For we cannot suppose the SAME *Compromise* to have been made with All *Kings*, and in All *Countries*.

And those *Acts* of *Parliament* which Establish the *Regale* in *England*, do it by way of *Recognition*, and Restoring the *Antient Right* of the *Crown* in *Ecclesiastical* Matters, and over *Ecclesiastical* Persons.

What

What that Power is, we shall see by and by. But whatever it is, *Kings* do not Claim it by way of *Compromise*: or *Grant* from the *Church*.

3. That such Grant, if made, wou'd be Void; because it is a Maxim, as well in Law, as Reason, that no *Trust* can be *Transferr'd*; especially such a *Trust* as *Christ* has Committed to His *Church*, in which the *Souls* of Men are concern'd. And the *Church* is Answerable for the Discharge of this *Trust*. And if no *Executor*, or other *Trustee* whatsoever can *Delegate* the *Trust* Committed to them, in *Temporals*; much less can the *Church*, in *Spirituals*.

That the Power of a *Nurse* is Limited. She cannot send the *Child* into other *Countries*, or give it to any other *Nurse*, without Consent of the *Parent*. That therefore the *Bishops*, whom *Christ* has Committed to *Feed* His *Flock*, cannot Commit this *Charge* to any other. No man would Allow it to a *Keeper* of his *Sheep*. Much less can the *Pastors* of *CHRIST's* *Sheep* have any such Power.

One *Bishop* may Desire the Assistance of another *Bishop*, in his *Absence*, *Indisposition* of *Body*, *Imprisonment*, or other Temporary *In-Capacity*. Sother may be *Coadjutor-Bishops*, and *Chor-Episcopi*. Because all *Bishops* are *Pastors* of one Common Flock, *Cujus à singulis*

*in solidum pars tenetur*; which is *Distributed* rather than *Divided* into several *Districts*, for the better *Regiment* of the Whole. And the *Discipline* of the Church will not Allow *ΑΜΟΤΕΙΟ-ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΕΙΩ*, that one *Bishop* should Interfere and Intrude into the Government of Another *Bishop's* Diocese, without his Permission. That would bring all Confusion, and Contests. Yet nothing hinders their Mutual *Assistance* of one Another, in their several Charges, by Agreement, as occasion shall Require. But they cannot *Delegat* their Power to those who are no *Pastors*, to whom *Christ* has given no such *Authority*. They must first make Men *Pastors*, and give them *Ordination*, before they can Commit the Flock to their Charge. They cannot *Delegat* the *Episcopal* Power (properly so call'd) to *Presbyters*, without giving them *Episcopal* Consecration. Much less can they do it to *Lay-Men*. No *Compromise*, or *Bargain* can do this; No *Temporal Advantages* or *Honours* can be taken in Exchange for this. Nor indeed can make *Compensation* for such an *Infraction* upon the very *Foundation* and *Constitution* of the Church.

4. That the Church in England, and other Places, has been much *Reduc'd* in *Honour*, *Wealth*, and *Power* from what She formerly Enjoy'd. Therefore,



fore, that if for these She gave up her Power to the *State*, the *Bargain* is Broke. Since *Covenants* must be kept on Both sides, else neither side is oblig'd. And either side may take the Advantage when they think fit.

5. That the *Church* upon Earth is Describ'd in the *Scripture*, as *Militant*, as a *City* Besieg'd: *Kings* have been the *Besiegers*, and may be again. And to Raise the *Siege*, we suppose one of the *Articles* to be, That *Kings* shall ever thereafter have the *Nomination* of the *Bishops*, the *Governors* of the *City*, and *Placing* of the *Guards*. This is a total Giving up of the *City*, and a Betraying of their *Trust* in the *Bishops*, whom *Christ* left the *Governors*. *Isai. 1. 2.*

That the Unreasonableness of this will Appear, if we put the Case *Contra*, (which is the truest Way to Judge,) and suppose, That the *Church* requir'd it, as an *Article*, lest the *State* might Prejudice the *Church*, that the *Church* should have the Power of *Nomination* and *Deposing* of *Kings*. That no *Parliament* shou'd meet, or Transact any thing relating to the *Civil Government* of the *Nation*, without *License* obtain'd from the *Bishops*; Nor *Enact* any thing, but in the *Bishop's* Name, and by their *Authority*.

Either of these Cases is not a *Compromise*, or an *Incorporation*; but a *Dissol-*

*Dissolution of the one Power, and Giving it up to the other.*

For that as the *Well-being* of any *Society* does Consist mainly in the *Governors* of the *Society*, because they have the greatest *Power* to do Good or Hurt : And therefore, where the *Choice* of the *Governors* of one *Society* is in the Hands of another *Society*, that *Society* must be *Dependent* and *Subject* to the other. So, if the *Power* of one *Society* extend likewise to the making of *Laws* for another *Society* (as if the *Church* could make *Laws* for the *State*, in *Temporals*; or the *State* make *Laws* binding the *Church*, relating to *Spirituals*) then is that *Society* entirely *subject* to the other.

But whereas no *Society* can subsist without *Meeting* and *Consulting* of their *Affairs*, and giving *Orders*, as Occasion shall Require : If one *Society* cannot *Meet* or *Convene* together, without the *Leave* and *License* of the other *Society*; nor *Treat* or *Enact* any thing relating to their own *Society*, without the *Leave* and *Authority* of the other ; then is that *Society*, in a manner, *Dissolv'd*, and subsists *Precariously* upon the mere *Will* and *Pleasure* of the other.

This is a *Degree* of *Subjection* to which the *Romans* did not Reduce the *Church* of the *Jews*, when they had entirely *Conquer'd* them ; for their *High*  
Priests

*Priests and Elders, their Council or Sanhedrin, Met whenever they Pleas'd; as we find frequently in the Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles.*

Then the Discourse turn'd to the Common Objection of *Imperium in Imperio*, That a Church Independent on the State, wou'd be Setting up one Government within another; and so breed nothing but Confusion. And the Contrasts betwixt Popes and Emperors, betwixt the Popish Clergy and the Kings of England; as well as of other Countries, were largely insisted on. To all which it was Answer'd :

IV.  
Obf. of  
*Imperium*  
in *Imperio*.

1. That the Sacred and the Civil Powers were like two Parallel Lines, which cou'd never Meet, or Interfere; for these two Authorities lie in two distinct Channels. As for Instance, in the Case of Murther, or any other Crime, the Criminal may be Excommunicated by the Church, and Absolv'd upon his Repentance, and Satisfaction made to the Church. But this hinders Nothing the Proceedings of the Civil Courts, which Respect the Temporal Punishment upon Body or Goods. Thus the same Criminal may be Absolv'd by the Church, and Condemn'd by the State; Absolv'd or Pardon'd by the State, yet Censur'd by the Church. So that Each Act Independently upon the Other, without any Confusion, or Interfering. But

C

2. That

2. That the *Confusion* arises, when the one will put their *Sickle* into the others *Harvest*: when the *Civil* Power will take upon them to *Contrroll* or Give *Law* to the *Church*, in the Exercise of Her *Spiritual* Authority; or the *Church* do the like to the *State*, in their *Temporal* Authority.

That all the *Contests* and *Wars* betwixt *Popes* and *Emperors* were upon this Foot: The *Emperors* Claim'd the *Investiture* of *Bishops*; and the *Popes*, to be even with them, assum'd the Power of *Deposing* the *Emperors* from their *Temporal* Authority. Here was *Wrong* on both Sides: And what cou'd follow but *Confusion*? The *Sacred* and the *Civil* Powers were let in upon one another; and then there cou'd be no Issue, but the one to *Subdue* and *Conquer* the other.

That the same was to be said, as to the *Contests* betwixt the *Bishops* in the *Popish* Times, and their own *Natural Kings*; For these *Bishops* asserted the Power of the *Pope* over the *Kings*, even in *Temporals*; and by the *Pope's* Command, refus'd to Pay *Taxes*, or Contribute towards the Support of the *Government*; which was, indeed, Setting up *Imperium in Imperio*, a Dissolving of their *Allegiance*, and Owning a Superior *Sovereign* to their *King*, in his own *Dominions*, and that in *Temporals*.

That



That our Blessed *Saviour*, in His All wise Providence, foreseeing the Consequences on both sides; as He set up his *Church*, Independent of all the Powers upon the Earth, so He gave her no *Authority* that cou'd possibly *Interfere* with the *Civil Powers*. He alter'd Nothing of the *Civil Powers*, but left them as He found them. He gave to *Caesar*, all that was *Caesar's*: But the Things of *God*, and the *Administration* of the *Spiritual Kingdom* of *Heaven*, upon Earth, that He left in the Hands of His *Church*; and Accountable to None but Himself. That as it is *Rebellion* and *Usurpation* in the *Church*, to Extend her *Commission* to *Civil Power*; so is it the Highest *Sacrilege* and *Rebellion* against *Christ*, for the *Civil Power* to Extend their *Commission* into the *Spiritual Kingdom*, and *Usurp* upon the *Sacred Office*: It is *Confounding* of *Heaven* and *Earth*. These agree best at the Distance God has Plac'd them. To bring them together, wou'd be a New *Chaos*, and *Contradiction* Irreconcilable. Such is the Attempt of Blending the *Sacred* and the *Civil Powers* together: While each Move in their own *Sphere*, there is *Concord* and *Harmony*.

And each may and ought to Assist the other, without *Incroaching* upon one another's Province. The *State* may

*Protect and Honour the Church, without Invading any Part of her Office: As the Church ought to Enforce Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, in all Lawful Things, without Assuming any Temporal Power over him. This is the Concordat and Agreement betwixt the Church and the State, upon what we call their Incorporation: And there is no other Incorporation but this. It is not the Giving up their Powers to one another: That wou'd be Confusion, and an Eternal Seed of Debate, and Jealousie of each other. The best way to maintain and keep up the Agreement, is, to Preserve their POWERS Distinct, and Independent of each other.*

Then it was said, That *Bishops* being made *Lords of Parliament*, of the *Council*, &c. it was but Reasonable for the Security of the *State*, that the *King* shou'd have the Choice of them.

*Ans.* That it was very Reasonable in those Cases, the *King* shou'd have full Security as to their *Loyalty*: And not only for them, but for all who were to be Admitted into any *Offices* or *Degrees* of the *Church*: That such Reasonable *Tests* shou'd be put to them, as ought to be Requir'd from all other his *Majesty's* Subjects, for the Security of the *Government*: And that they shou'd Renounce all *Civil Power* in the *Church*,

to

to Coerce, or Limit, by the Sword, the Authority of the Civil Magistrate, in any Exercise of his Authority, tho' it were in Sacred Things, or over Sacred Persons: or even tho' Exercis'd Unjustly. Which one wou'd think is going as far as can Reasonably be expected.

But that this ought not to Extend the Regale to the Choice of the Persons, because that is an Encroachment upon the Divine Commission Granted by CHRIST to his Church. And do's carry along with it all the Consequences of *Erastianism*.

That as Kings do Promise to Protect and Defend the Church: So do's the Church, to Support and Defend the Crown: Yet she has no Title from hence to have the Choice of the King in Her hands, on Pretence of Security to the Church, tho' her Bishops set the Crown upon his Head. As little Reason is ther for the King to have the Nomination of the Bishops of the Church, on Pretence of Security to the State.

That ther is more Pretence on the Churches side; because the King, at his Coronation, Surrenders his Regalia, his Crown, Scepter, and Sword upon the Altar, and Receiv's them thence again by the hands of the Bishops, as the Ministers of Christ, and Representing his Person; from whom all Christian Kings do Derive their Authority, as their King

and God: And Swear, upon thus Accepting their Crowns from the Hands of His Authoriz'd Ambassadors, to Maintain and Defend his Church, in All her Liberties and Freedoms.

That the State has the same Returns from the Lords Spiritual, in Council, Parliament, &c. for their Honours and Estates, as from the Temporal Lords. Besides the Spiritual Advantages the State receiv's from the Church, which are Infinitely Greater than All that the Church can receive from the State.

That in all Ages and Religions, those who serv'd at the Altar were Reckon'd a Distinct, and the Chief of the Estates of the Nation.

That if Christian Kings intend to do Honour to the Commission of Christ, they shoud do it Freely, without Encroaching upon any Part of it. They wou'd not have their Beneficence, and Protection to the Church of Christ understood as a Bribe to Her, to Betray and Deliver up into their Hands the Powers Committed into Her Charge by Christ! That wou'd be to Invade Christ Himself! And to Act the Part of the Greatest Enemy to His Spouse the Church, to Tempt Her to Unfaithfulness, and Render Her Obnoxious to His Heavy Displeasure! And will She be True to them, whom They have Corrupted to be False to Christ!



Nor will they Escape ! For He is a Jealous God, and will not Give His Honour to Another. He Alone will be Head of His Church. It is an Honour and a Trust He has not Communicated to Any Angel of Heaven, Much less to any King upon Earth.

And He lets them Taste their Folly, in suffering them to Destroy the Greatest Security of their Government, while they think to Preserve it.

For we find by Experience, that the State, particularly in England, have been out in their Politicks, in Reducing the Church to so low an Ebb of Credit and Authority with the People ; For we have seen that Laws and Constitutions have prov'd too Weak to Restrain the Unruly Passions and Ambition of Designing Men. The State have no Security so Great as the Principles of the People, when they are Taught to Obey for Conscience sake, and to Believe that Rebellion is a Damning Sin : Which the Church cannot Inculcate into them farther than her Credit reaches with them. And when they see Bishops made by the Court, they are apt to Imagine that they speak to them the Court-Language ; and lay no farther Stress upon it, than the Charge of a Judge at an Assizes, who has Receiv'd his Instructions before-hand from the Court. And,

V.

Prejudice  
to the  
State in  
having  
the Church  
Depend  
upon  
Them.

by this Means, the State has Lost the Greatest Security of their Government.

Besides, That this does Insensibly draw Men into a *Dis-esteem* and *Suspicion* of Religion in the General ; whose *Foundation* they cannot think to be *Divine*, while they see the Church Depo-  
sable by the State. Hence they are In-  
clin'd, and easily Impos'd upon by *Deists*  
and *Atheists*, to Resolve all into *Priest-  
Craft*, Manag'd by a Superior *State-Craft*.  
This Looses all Bonds *Sacred* and *Civil* ;  
Dissolves all *Relations*, as well *Natural* as  
*Political* ; and Gives full Reins to all *Lewd-  
ness*, *Immoralities*, *Rebellion*, and whatever  
*Wickedness*, where ther is Prospect of  
*Success*, or that can be Acted *Impune*.

That the State can never find their  
Security in such a Frame of Things.  
That if Religion were a *State-Craft*, it  
were not such, unless they can make  
the People Believe it not to be so :  
Which they cannot do, while they see  
the *Governors* of the Church Exercise-  
ing of almost no *Ecclesiastical* Power,  
but what is *Dependent* upon the State.  
That the *Heathen Governments* under-  
stood this so well, as to Preserve their  
Religion most *Sacred*, and the *Priests*  
Inviolable, and Superior to all others,  
in what Related to their *Function*. That  
God Himself did so Ordain it among  
the *Jews*. That it were a Greater Se-  
curity to the State, to have a *False Re-  
ligion*,

ligion, so it were Believ'd by the *People*, than to have no *Religion* at all. That Nothing can be Believ'd to be *Religion* by any *People*, but what they think to be *Divine*, that is, Sent immediately from *God*: And they can think Nothing to be so, that is in the Power of *Man* to Alter, or *Transverse*.

Then it was Urg'd, That the *Erastian* Principle has had two Visible Effects in *England*: That it had turn'd the *Gentry*, *Deists*; and the *Common People*, *Dissenters*: For the *Dissenters*, One and All, from *Presbyterians* down to *Muggletonians*, Pretend to *Divine Commission*, Independent of all the Powers upon the *Earth*: Therefore the *People* run to them; And look upon the *Church of England*, as a *Parliamentary Religion*, and *Establishment* of the *State*. And the *Deists*, when they find themselves in *Committees* of *Religion*, can never think that ther is anything *Divine* in that which they see Stand and Fall by their *Vote*.

That next to the Obligation of *Conscience*, before spoke of, Ther is no *Security* so Great to any *Government*, as that *Mutual Trust* and *Confidence* which ought to be betwixt a *Prince* and his *People*. Where that is once Broken, it is the Hardest thing in the *World* to Cement it again. The Best  
Actions

Actions are *Misconstru'd* on Both sides ;  
No Promises or Oaths are longer Be-  
liev'd or Trusted.

Now this of the *Regale* is so from  
Promoting of these Good Ends ; That  
it is almost Un-avoidable but it must  
Dissolve them. It is a Perpetual Seed  
of Jealousy and Discontent on Both sides.  
For a King may look upon those who  
are Zealous for Religion and the Church  
of Christ, as Enemy's to his Crown and  
Dignity, and seeking to Impair his Pre-  
rogative : And on the other hand, the  
the Friends of the Church May be  
Tempted to think his *Regale* an En-  
croachment upon Her Original and In-  
herent Rights ; and Consequently, That,  
instead of being a Defender of the Faith,  
and Nursing-Father to Her, he is Her  
greatest Invader and Enemy.

This Consequence is so Natural,  
that in Every Place almost, where the  
*Regale* has obtain'd, the Effects of it  
have been seen. Not only in the Great  
Encrease of Dissenters, for the Reason  
before-mention'd ; But even in Con-  
tests betwixt the Church and the King ;  
especially where he happens to be of a  
Different Communion from that of the  
Establish'd Church : And yet must have  
the Disposal of Bishopricks, and other  
Affairs of the Church in his Power,  
can set up Ecclesiastical Commissions, in  
what hands he thinks fit ; Hinder Con-

VOCATIONS



vocations to Sit, or *Act*, &c. Of this we have seen Instances at Home.

And likewise Abroad, in *France*, where the *Regale* prevails most of any *Popish Country*; as in the Case of *Henry IV.*

Nor do's Kings being of the same *Communion* with the *Church* Establish'd in their *Dominions*, and Truly, and Zealously so, hinder always the *Jealousies*, that may Arise; Witness the *Holy League* against *Hen. III. of France*. And the *Solemn League and Covenant* (which was thence *Transcrib'd*, almost *Verbatim*, with the Change only of *Names* and *Circumstances*) against our King *Char. I.* And the *Contests* with him, by those that call'd themselves of the *Church* of *England*, about the *High-Commission Court*, and other Exercises of his *Ecclesiastical Regale*. Tho' strictly Pursuant to the *Act of Parliament* which did set it up *I<sup>mo</sup> Eliz.* Yet that was, so far, Abrogated by *Act of Parliament 17 Car.* They cou'd not Endure the Exercise of that *Regale* which themselves had Establish'd!

Under this Head may come in the several *Contests* and *Wars* betwixt *Popes* and the *Secular Princes*, for the Maintenance of their opposit *Regales*. As likewise the *Oppositions* of the *Ecclesiasticks*, at the *Council of Trent*, in *France* *An. 1682.* (hereafter-mention'd.) And many

many other Instances, against the *Pontificat*, or *Regale* of the *Pope*.

But now (said one) let us see if we can find an Instance of a *Christian Church*, here amongst our selves in *Europe* (for we have little knowlege of further Parts, as to *Church Affairs*) where neither of these *Regales* do obtain, neither of the *Pope*, or of the *King*.

And it was found in *Sweden*, ever since the *Reformation* there; which was made (as others shou'd have been) upon the foot of the *Primitive Episcopat*, and not of the *Regale*. The *King* there is Perfectly *Absolute*, as to all *Civil Affairs*: Yet leaves the *Church* intirely Free, as to the Choice of Her *Bishops*, and all other *Ecclesiastical Matters* whatsoever. He Intermeddles not at all.

Nor is he Offended, That in their *Liturgie*, they Pray not only for the *Church* in the General, but for the *Clergy*, the *Governing* Part of it, before the *King* and his *Ministers* in the *State*. Thus it is in the *Greek-Liturgies*, and all others except Ours. They think it no *Solecism* to Pray for their *Bishop* before the *King*; And to be more Concern'd for the *Faith* and *Welfare* of the *Church* than of the *State*. They let the *Church* stand all together, with Her

*Bishops*

*Bishops* at the Head. But the *King* in our *Litany*, is Thrust in betwixt the *Church* (which for Decency sake they wou'd have Nam'd before the *State*, as being the Language of all the World) and the *Bishops*, upon the Notion, I suppose, of his being *Head* of the *Church*. And the Whole *Royal Family* are drawn in with him, as being *Heads* in *Rever-sion*. And the *Nobility* too in the *Office*, 5th Nov. We improve! And seem to take Care in the first *First Place*, for our *Bodies*, before our *Souls*; and for *this World* more than *Eternity*! But they Retain the *Primitive Forme* and *Constitution* in *Sweden*. They *Reform* not *Back-wards*.

And the Effects of this are very Remarkable. For, first, they have no *Dis-senters* there, *Popish*, or *Other*. They are all *Uniform*. And this Contributes not a little to the Peace and Security of the *Civil Government*. In the next place, Ther has been no where so Good *Agree-ment* betwixt the *Church* and the *State*. No *Jealousies*, no *Discontents*, no *Murmur-ing* at all. For indeed the Ground and Foundation of them is out of the way, that is, the *Regale*. The Powers, *Sacred* and *Civil*, are kept, as they are in their own Nature, *Distinct*, and *In-Dependent* on each other, and so can never *Interfere*. And where ther is not *Interfering* and *Clashing*, ther must needs be, in this  
Case

Case, the Greatest *Love* and *Tenderness* Concern for One Another ; While Both Daily Experiment the *Mutual Benefits* Receiv'd on Both sides, *Spiritual* and *Temporal*. Then they will Both *Watch* over one Another, for Good ; for it is their Own. The *Church* will make it Her Utmost Care to Inculcat the Principles of *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to the *Civil Government* : And such a *Church* will have a *Credit* and *Authority* over the *Conscience* of the *People*. And the *King* on the other Hand, finding the *Benefit* of this to his *Government* ( besides more *Spiritual* Considerations ) will *Protect* and *Cherish* the *Church*, without any *Fear* or *Jealousy*, as being the Greatest *Support* to his *Crown*. And will be, in the true Sense, a *Nursing-Father* to Her.

VI. But, said One, can the *King* be a *Nursing-Father* to the *Church*, and yet have no *Authority* over Her ? If he be a *Father*, where is his *Honour* ? I have heard this, said he, Much Insisted upon to Prove the *King's* Authority over the *Church*. And it shou'd seem to Infer some *Spiritual* Authority or other over Her, as a *Church* : for, as they are *Subjects*, they are in the same *Class* with *Lay-Men*, all Equally Lyable to the *Temporal* Government. But if the *King* have no *Authority* at all in her *Constitution*

Of Kings  
being Nursing-Fathers to the Church.



tion as a *Church*, how is he a *Father* to the *Church*? Or, is he a *Father*, and yet has no *Authority*?

This turned the Company to the Consideration of that Text *Isai. xlix. 23.* Whence the *Authority* of *Kings* over the *Church* had been so often Infer'd. But that Objection soon vanished, when the whole *Verse* was Read out. *Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing-Mothers: They shall Bow down to thee with their Face towards the Earth, and Lick up the Dust of thy Feet.*

These, said One, are strange Marks of *Fatherly Authority*! Therefor it was Concluded, That the Office here Ascrib'd to *Kings* and *Queens* must be an Office of Service, and the most Profound Reverence: And withal of the greatest Love and Affection, such as *Nurses* have for the *Children* Committed to their Care; as likewise of Protection, and Provision for them. And the *Children* here said to be Committed to the Care of *Kings* and *Queens*, are the *Sons* and *Daughters* of GOD: Therefor their Protection of them, and Provision for them, their Love, Reverence, and Service to them must be Proportionable.

Then the word *Nursing-Father* was Inquir'd into. And it was found to be an Old English word, and to mean the same as *Foster-Father*, that is, a *Nurses Husband*, whose Office is, to Protect and

and Defend the Child, and to Carry it, when ther is Occasion. Thus the Comparifon is us'd, Num. xi. 12. As a Nursing-Father beareth the sucking Child. And in this Text of *Isaiah* it is taken in the same sense, as is Exprest ver. 22. They shall bring thy Sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters shall be carry'd upon their Shoulders: And Kings shall be thy Nursing Fathers, &c. Our Margin reads it, *Nourishers*; and the *Latin* renders it, *Nutritii*: For neither in the Original, or any one Translation, is ther such a Word as *Father*; only this Old English Word of *Nursing-Father* stands in our Translation, which yet it Explains upon the Margin. But the Prophet repeats the same again, in other Words, Chap. lx. 16. which fully Explain his Meaning; where speaking of the future Glories of the Church, he says, Thou shalt suck the Milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the Breast of KINGS. And to shew that this was not an Office of Authority, but of Service, he says, Verse 10. The Sons of Strangers shall Build up thy Walls, and their KINGS shall MINISTER unto thee: Therefore thy Gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut Day nor Night, that Men may bring unto thee the Forces of the Gentiles, and that their KINGS may be brought: For the Nation and Kingdom that will not SERVE thee, shall

shall Perish; yea, those Nations shall be Utterly Wasted. And Ver. 14. The Sons also of them that Afflicted thee, shall come Bending unto thee; and all they that Despised thee shall Bow themselves down at the Soles of thy Feet. These are the same Expressions with those Chap. xlix. 23. which plainly shew the Meaning of that Prophecie; that it is Apply'd to Kings and Queens.

This turn'd the Stream of the Discourse another way. And some did Urge from this Vast Submission which is mention'd of Kings, That the Person to whom it must be Pay'd could not be the Church but Christ Himself; of whom they wou'd have all these Texts Understood.

But then (Reply'd Another) you must give up your Argument of any Sort of Authority being Implied in the word Nursing-Father, in this Text: for otherwise, if Christ, and not the Church, be here Meant, you will give to Kings a Fatherly Authority over CHRIST.

And suppose that CHRIST wanted such a Glorious Revolution of the Church as was there fore-told, to Confirm him that there was a God, and an All-Governing Providence; for this is the Conclusion of the Verse, Isa. xlix. 23. Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and Queens

*Queens thy Nursing-Mothers. They shall Bow down to thee with their Face toward the Earth, and Lick up the Dust of thy Feet. And thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for they shall not be Ashamed that Wait for Me.*

Besides that from *Vers. 13.* to the End of this Chapter, All is Spoken of Zion, of the Lord's People, as it is Express'd, *Vers. 13, 14.* and Concludes, *Vers. 26.* thus; *And all Flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour, and thy Redeemer; the Mighty One of Jacob.* CHRIST is the Saviour and Redeemer of Jacob; which is, His Church. But if this were Spoken of Christ, then it makes Christ to be the Redem'd, and not the Redeemer:

Again, *Vers. 16.* it is said, *Thy Walls are continually before Me.* And *Vers. 19.* *Thy Waste and Desolate Places, and the Land of thy Destruction, &c.* Now, what Walls has Christ, but those of His Church? What other Waste and Desolate Places? Is He a Captive, and Removing to and fro? As it is Express'd, *Vers. 21.* Then shall thou say in thine Heart, *who hath Begotten me these, seeing I have lost my Children and am Desolate, a Captive, and Removing to and fro? And who hath brought up these? Behold I was left alone; these, where had they been?* This was Spoke of the flowing in of the Gentiles to the Church, as it is Express'd



Express in the next Ver. *I will lift up my hand to the GENTILES. And KINGS shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, &c.* as before Quoted. This was to Answer the Great Astonishment of the Church, for the New and Un-expected Access of so Many Children, after those of Israel had been carry'd Captive, and Destroy'd. But did not Christ know this? Did not He know these, where had they been? Did he say, *Who hath Begotten me these?* Or are these the Words of His Spouse the Church?

And in the Parallel place before Quoted out of Chap. lx. After what has been Repeated of Strangers building thy Walls; and their Kings MINISTERING unto thee; Nations and Kingdoms SERVING thee; And all they that Despised thee, shall Bow themselves down at the SOLES of thy FEET, the next words are in the same Ver. 14. *And they shall call thee, The City of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel.* This is certainly the Church, and not Christ. As the Prophet go's on. Ver. 15. *Whereas thou hast been forsaken, so that no man went through thee.* Still of Zion, and not of Christ. And Ver. 16. *Thou shalt suck the Breast of Kings; And thou shalt know that I the Lord am thy Saviour* Did not Christ know this before? Was not He himself the Saviour of His Church? Again Ver. vi. *I will also make*

thy Officers, Peace; and thine Exactors, Righteousness, Or, as the LXX Renders it, and St. Clem. Rom. (Ep. ad Corinth. N. 42.) and others of the Primitive Fathers Quoted it (following herein the Example of Christ and the Apostles, who generally Quoted the Old Testament according to the Translation of the LXX.) *I will give thee thy Princes in Peace, and thy Bishops in Righteousness.* The Bishops were to be the Princes of the Church. But not of CHRIST, as this forc'd Interpretation for the Regale would turn all these Texts; in Favour of KINGS. Who must, by these Texts, brought in their Defence, either become Sons and Servants to the Church; or otherwise set Themselves up as Fathers and Kings over CHRIST! Unless they can make us believe, That by Zion, and the City of the Lord, not the Church, But Christ is meant. For what is said in these Texts, themselves do say, is Spoken of Zion, &c.

Add to this, That the Contents of both these Chapters do Apply them to the Church, and not to Christ. Which shews what Sense of our Church is of these Texts.

## VII.

Of David's Ordering the Courses of the Priests and Levites, &c.

Then David's Ordering the Courses of the Priests and Levites, and Solomon's thrusting out Abiathar were Objected. to this it was said,

1. That

1. That *David* and *Solomon* were *Extra-ordinarily Inspired Men*, the One a *Prophet*, the other a *Preacher*. And that what they did, by an *Extra-ordinary Commission* from *God*, is not to be brought in *Precedent* for the *Ordinary Power of Kings*. Otherwise that *Kings* may take upon them to *Preach*, to *Consecrat* *CHURCHES* (according to *Hobbes*) because *Solomon* did *Consecrat* the *TEMPLE*, and calls Himself a *Preacher*. And to *Consecrat* *BISHOPS*, because *Moses* *Consecrated Aaron*: Nay, to Write *SCRIPTURE* for Us, because all these did so.

2. That *David* and *Solomon* were as *Extra-ordinarily Raised up* by *God*, and by Him *Impower'd*, and *particulary Instructed*, to *Build the Temple*, and *Institute a new Temple-Service* and *Oeconomy*, as was to *Make the Tabernacle*, and *Institute the Tabernacle-Service*. And that as *Moses* was *Commanded* to *make every thing of the Tabernacle*, after the *Pattern* that was *shew'd* to him in the *Mount*. *Exod. xxv. 40*. So was every thing of the *Temple*, even to the *Weight of a Flesh-hook*, given to *David*, as you may see, *1 Chron. xxviii. from Ver. ii*. And that in *Writing: Ver. 19*. *All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in Writing, by His hand upon me, even all the works of this Pattern* Or, as it is better render'd in the

*Vul. Lat. nearer to the Original, and other Translations, All these things (said David) came to me Written with the Hand of the Lord, that I might understand all the works of this Pattern. And the LXX says, That David gave all this to Solomon, written with the Hand of the Lord. So that this bears the same Authority as the Decalogue, which was wrote with the finger of God upon the Mount. And this was not only as to the Temple it self, and all the Utensils of it; but likewise as to the Service and Oeconomy, then new made of the Priests, and their Ministration, as it is Written vers. 13. Also for the Courses of the Priests and the Levites, and for all the Work of the Service of the House of the Lord. And these things were not only given to David himself, By the Spirit, as it is said ver. 12. But they were likewise Commanded by Gad, and Nathan, as it is written 2 Chr. xxix 25. And he (Hezekiah) set the Levites in the House of the Lord with Cymbals, with Psalteries, and with Harps, according to the Commandment of David, and of Gad the King's Seer, and Nathan the Prophet: for so was the Commandment of the Lord by his Prophets. Therefore these things cannot be brought in Precedent for the Ordinary Power of Kings. Hezekiah here Disowns it, and shews by what Authority he did it, for so was the Commandment*



*mandment of the Lord, by His Prophets.*  
And this needed not, if *Hezekiah* cou'd  
have done it, *jure Regio*, by his own  
Power, as KING.

If *KINGS* had had this Power, then  
had not the Great and Victorious *Uz-*  
*ziah* been Smitten with *Leprosie* to  
the Day of his Death; and *Saul* De-  
thron'd by God, for Invading the  
*Priest's Office*. Then had not *Jeroboam*,  
and his House been *Cursed*, with so Se-  
vere a *Curse*, even to cut it off, and De-  
stroy it from off the face of the Earth,  
for Depriving the *Priests* of *Levi*, and  
setting up new *Priests* of his own Chu-  
sing. 2 *Chr.* xiii. 9. And yet he had as  
Great Reason to do it, as *State* Consi-  
derations cou'd afford. For these *Priests*  
of *Levi*, not only joyn'd with *Reho-*  
*boam* against him, and forsook their  
Possessions in his Kingdom, and came  
themselves to *Jerusalem*, to strengthen  
the hands of *Rehoboam*, but they  
brought over with them as many as  
they cou'd from *Jeroboam*, as it is told,  
2 *Chr.* xi. 13. to ver. 18.

Here one Interpos'd, and said, That  
he could not Oppose these *Authorities*  
of *H. Scripture*; which he had so well  
Consider'd before: But that other-  
wise, he did not see so Great In-  
convenience in the King's Nomination  
of *Bishops*; Because, said he, I have

observ'd, That very Excellent Men have been Advanc'd in the Church, particularly by King Char. II. as by former Princes. And that Lay-Patrons generally put in as Good Men, as where the Collation was in the Bishop.

To this it was Reply'd, That the Comparison wou'd be Invidious, therefore we wou'd not Enter upon it. And moreover, said this Gentleman, I am not so Sanguine as to Promise my self, That, if the Election of Bishops were Restor'd to themselves to Morrow, ther would not be found among some of them, Corrupt Practises. They are Men. And there is no Perfection in this World. The Apostles themselves had their Contests, and were Men of like Passions as we.

But still, said he, ther is a Necessity, for the good Government of the World, and of Every Sociery (and the Church is one) That all things should go in their Proper Channels. Perhaps, said he, You or I might Name as Good a Man to be Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, or Lord Mayor of London, as some that are Chosen into those Places. But if, for that Reason, we shou'd take this upon Us, we should be justly Chargeable with a great Offence, and in some Cases, of Treason, for Assuming to our selves the Office and Prerogative of the KING.

Besides,

Besides, that they ought to have the Administration of any Office, who are Accountable for the Discharge of it. And the Bishops being Answerable to Christ the Chief Shepherd, for the Discharge of their Under-Stewardships; ought therefor to have the Administration in their own Hands.

And if this was not Trusted to a David, a Solomon, or a Hezekiah, no other KING, for his Opinion of his own Vertue, Wisdom, or Godliness, ought to Encroach upon the Sacred Office.

## VIII.

Then it was Desir'd that something Of Solomon and more particularly shou'd be spoken concerning the Deprivation of Abia- Abiathar. Abiathar by Solomon.

I. And you remember it was Deny'd that Solomon did Deprive him. And this was call'd a *Vulgar Error*. Then the Sentence which Solomon past upon Abiathar was Read, 1 Kin. ii 26. And unto Abiathar the Priest, said the King, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields, for thou art Worthy of Death: but I will not at this time, put thee to Death, because thou barest the Ark of the Lord God before David my Father, and because thou hast been Afflicted, in all wherein my Father was Afflicted. This was the Sentence. Solomon here was giving Judgment upon the several Rebels who had Conspir'd against him.

And

And he past Sentence of *Death* against *Adoniah*, *Joab*, &c. But this was the Sentence of *Abiathar*, which was Totally a *Civil*, and not any *Ecclesiastical* Sentence. It was *Banishment* from *Jerusalem* to *Anathoth*. It was a *Reprieve* as to his *Life*, which he had *Forfeited* by his *Treason*, but not a full *Pardon*. I will not, At this time, put thee to *Death*. He kept him upon his *Good-Behaviour*.

It was like the Sentence he past upon *Shimei*, at the same time, of *Confinement* to *Jerusalem*, the Breach of which afterwards cost him his *Life*.

But it was *Urg'd e Contra*, That this was an *Ecclesiastical* Sentence of *Deprivation*: Because it is said, as a Consequence of this Sentence, *Ver. 27. So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord*. How was that? Because the Proper Office of the *Priesthood* was Limited to the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*, and cou'd not be Perform'd any where else. And so *Abiathar's* *Banishment* from *Jerusalem*, was a *Consequential* hindering of him from the *Execution* of his *Office*, during that time: But it was no *Deprivation*: And if the *KING* pleas'd to Relax his Sentence of *Banishment*; ther was no *Incapacity* upon *Abiathar* of Exercising his *Office* as before. For after this Sentence, he was still Reckon'd *Priest*,



as before. 1 Kin. iv. 4. *Zadock and Abiathar were the Priests.* This was in the Account of the Chief Officers in *Church and State*, in *Solomon's* Reign.

It was said, That if this *Text* be understood to Imply a *Deprivation*, it will also Prove a *Degradation*, because it is said, *He thrust out Abiathar from being Priest.* And then it will Prove too Much. Because our *Kings* do not Pretend to such a Power as to *Degrade Bishops* from their *Character*. And therefor they will be forc'd to Solve this *Text*, by *Solomon's* having an *Extraordinary Commission* to do this; seeing they Pretend not to Succeed him in such a *Power*, which they grant to *Exceed* theirs.

But if, said one, the thrusting *Abiathar* from the *Temple*: And that his *Office* was Confin'd to that *Place*: And that this was Reckon'd not only a *Deprivation*, but a *Degrading* of him from the *Office* of *Priesthood*; it wou'd seem as if, by a Parallel from this, the *Office* of a *Bishop* in the *Christian Church* were to be Understood always with Relation to a Particular *Church* or *Flock*: And that where a *Bishop* has no Particular *Church*, of which he is *Head*, he is, as it were, no *Bishop* of the *Catholic Church*, that consisting only of *Several Particular Churches*.

To

To which it was said, That the *Apostles*, wherever they went, did Always make *Bishops* of *Particular Districts* or *Churches*. And never did Make any such thing as a *Bishop* at Large, without Relation to some *Particular Flock*. Nay that they were so Careful in this, That, as *Clem. Rom.* tells us in his 1st *Ep. ad Corinth.* N. 42. they made *Bishops* τῶν μεμόντων πρεσβευ, leaving *Bishops* in Places to be *Heads* of those who should afterwards be converted.

That from that time to this, there has been no *Bishops* in the *Cath. Church*, but of *Particular Districts*.

That the Word *Bishop*, like that of *King*, is a word of *Government* and *Relation*: And as ther cannot be a *KING* without *People*; so neither a *Bishop* without a *Flock*.

That therefor, tho' a *KING* or a *Bishop*, being *Depriv'd*, hinders not their *Right* of being *Restor'd*: Yet it is, for the Time, an *Un-kinging* or *Un-Bishoping* of such an one. And in that Sense, may be call'd not only a *Deprivation* but a *Degradation* of him, and taking of his *Character* from him. Which Remains then only *in Potentia*, as the *Schools* speak, in a *Capacity* to be afterwards *Reduc'd* into *Act*.

That therefor, as said in the Beginning of this Discourse, Whoever has

a Power to Dissolve the Relation betwixt a Bishop and his *Diocefs*, has Power over his *Character*. As it is said here of *Abiathar*, That he was Thrust out from being Priest unto the Lord. That being Implied in the Disabling a Man from Executing his Office, in the Place whereto he is Appointed. For he has More Right to that Place, to that Particular Flock, over which he is Appointed, And to Exercise his Office there, than in any other Place, or to Any other Flock. For Every Flock have their own Bishop or Pastor: And one Bishop must not thrust himself into the Charge of Another Bishop, without his Leave: And therefor a Bishop justly Depriv'd, is for the Time, Degraded, and Thrust out of the Priesthood; And is not be reckon'd as one of the Episcopal College. And if the Secular Magistrat can put Another Bishop in his Place, then may the State Alter and Model the whole Episcopal College, at their Pleasure, and Consequently, the whole Authority of the Church of Christ.

Here one said, That Solomon did not only Thrust out or Deprive *Abiathar*, but did Substitute Another in his Place; Therefor it was Desir'd that something should be said to Explain 1 Kin. ii. 35. *Zadock the Priest did the King put in the room of Abiathar?* Answ. *Abiathar* was

was Chief or High-Priest of the Second Order of Priests, which was the Eighth Families of the House of Ithamar, the Second Son of Aaron, from whom Abiathar Descended. And Zadock, as the Chief or Supreme Metropolitan, was over the Sixteen Families of the House of Eleazar the Eldest Son of Aaron, from whom he Descended. You may see the Distribution, 1 Chr. xxiv. Therefore Zadok is all along, even in David's time, put before Abiathar, wherever they are Nam'd together. And the Succession of the High-Priesthood ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~call'd~~ <sup>call'd</sup>, Or Properly so call'd, was Reckon'd only in the Sons of Eleazar, as you may see, 1 Chr. vi. to ver. 15. and ver. 50. to 54. And Ezra vii. to ver. 6. where none of the Family of Ithamar are Reckon'd. Neither Eli, nor Abitub, nor Abimelech, nor Abiathar, but Zadok is. And Zadok, and not Abiathar, was Prince or Ruler of the Aaronites, 1 Chr. xxvii. 17. where the Princes of the 12 Tribes are Reckon'd up in David's Time. And Zadok only, and not Abiathar, was Anointed with Solomon, in the Life-time of King David. 1 Chr. xxix. 22. to be Priest; that is, the Chief, or Supreme H. Priest. Or as Josephus says, (Antiq. l. vii. c. xi.) High Priest of all the People. As the Archbishop of Canterbury is call'd Primat of All England, in Contra-Distinction to the



the *Arch-Bishop* of *Tork*, who is Stil'd *Primat* of *England*. But when *Abiathar* was *Banish'd*, and therefor could not Administer his High *Priesthood* over the *Second Order* of the *Eight Families* of the *House* of *Ithamar*, they were all put under the *Charge* of *Zadok*. And thus the putting *Zadok* in the *Room* of *Abiathar*, was not Advancing *Zadok* above *Abiathar*, for so he was always; but as if the *Primat* of *Canterbury* had the *Rule* and *Government* given him over the *Province* of *Tork*, during an *in-Capacity* of the *Primat* of *Tork*: Which *in-Capacity* arising from a *Civil Sentence*, as of *Imprisonment* or *Banishment* (for such, and no other was the *Sentence* of *Solomon* against *Abiathar*) it was no *Deprivation*, but he Remain'd notwithstanding still *Primat* of *Tork*, or *Second Metropolitan*, as *Abiathar* was still Reckon'd the *Second Priest* after *Zadok*, in the *Court* of *Solomon*, notwithstanding of that *Sentence* of *Banishment* pass'd against him.

Who was made *Second Priest*, or *High-Priest* of the *Second Order* after the *Death* of *Abiathar*, or if he was Restor'd, by being Releas'd from his *Banishment*; does not Appear, nor is it *Material* to our present Purpose. But this we find, That ther were *Two* such *Priests* from the time of *Aaron*. Numb. iii. 4. 1 Chr. xxiv. 2. And continu'd  
to

to the Captivity. 2Kin. xxv. 18. Jer. Lii. 24. And in our Saviour's time. Luk. iii. 2. And that after the New Establishment of the Temple-Service and Oeconomy, the Succession of the High-Priesthood was Reckon'd from Zadok, who was the first High-Priest of the Temple, as formerly it was from Aaron. And instead of the Sons of Aaron, the Priests were afterwards call'd the Sons of Zadok, Ezek. xi. 46. xliii. 19. xlv. 15. xlviii. ii. And instead of the House of Aaron, it was said, The House of Zadok, 2 Chr. xxxi. 10.

As instead of The House of the Lord, and The Temple of the Lord in Shiloh. 1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 9. it was afterwards said, The House and The Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem. This was a Mighty Revolution in the Jewish Church. And all Expressly Order'd by God Himself. And most Particularly set down in H. Scripture.

From the Jews first Possession of Canaan, the Temple was set up in Shiloh. Jos. xviii. 1. And there continu'd all the time of the Judges, which was about 450 years (Act xiii. 20.) to the days of Samuel. The Tabernacle of Shiloh was then call'd The Tent which God had Placed among Men. Psal. lxxviii. 60. Then the Ark was taken, Eli and his Sons slain. And Great Reproach came upon Israel. After this the Ark

Return'd

Return'd no more to *Shiloh*. But was long in a wandering Condition, being 20 years in the House of *Abinadab*. 1 *Sam.* vii. 1, 2. And remov'd to several other Places. At length God himself Pitch'd upon the *Place*, where He shew'd Himself, by a great Miracle, to *David*. 2 *Chr.* iii. 1. or as the *vulg.* reads it, Which Place God shew'd to *David*. It was first Consecrated by *David*'s being Commanded to Rear an *Altar* there for staying the *Plague* from the *People*. And it was the same place where *Abraham* was Commanded to Sacrifice *Isaac*. *Gen.* xxii. 2. Which is observ'd by *Josephus*. *Antiq.* l. vii. c. x. God Chose not only the *Tribe*, but the *Mountain* where He would have His *Temple* Built. Having Rejected the *Tribe* and *Tabernacle* where it was Built before. *Psal.* Lxxviii. 67, 68. It was not in Man's Power to determin the *Tribe* or the *Place*. No, nor was the least Circumstance, the *Measure* of a *Chamber*, or the *Weight* of a *Flesh-hook* (as before said) left to the Discretion either of *David* or *Solomon*, but All most Minutely set down to them in *Writing*. And as all other things, so the *Person* who shou'd Build the *Temple* was Particularly pitch'd upon by God Himself. *David* was Rejected for this Work, tho' he had a great Mind to it. And God fore-told by Prophecie whom

he wou'd have to do it, and Nam'd his *Name* before he was Born. 1 *Chr.* xxii. 8, 9, 10. So that in all things the *Temple-æconomy* was wholly *Divine*. And not established by any ordinary *Regal* or *Human Power* or *Authority*.

2. Hence it was Argu'd, That tho' the *Sentence* of *Solomon* against *Abiathar* had been an *Ecclesiastical Sentence*: And that not only of *Deprivation* but *Degradation*, yet it cou'd not be brought in *Precedent* for the ordinary *Power* of *Kings*. That it must, in that Case, be Reckon'd as a Part, and a Principal Part of the New Ordering of the *Courses* of the *Priests*, which was particularly Commanded by *God* to *David*. And according to which it is Written that *Solomon* did Execute it, 2 *Chr.* viii.

14. And he appointed according to the Order of *David* his Father, the *Courses* of the *Priests* to their Service—for so had *David* the Man of *God* Commanded.

3. That if the *Kingly Power* extend to the *Depriving* of *Priests*, and putting others, whom they think fit, in their Room; Then *Solomon* might have put any other whom he pleas'd, and not *Zadok*, in the Room of *Abiathar*. Which I have not yet heard any *Adventure* to say: For at this Rate, *Solomon*, or any after *King* might have quite overthrown and Alter'd the whole *Temple-Oeconomy*, and made what new *Distri-*



*Distribution of the Courses of the Priests*, he thought fit, *And for all the Work of the Service of the House of the Lord.* For both are joyn'd together, and alike Commanded, 1 Chr. xxviii. 13. And by ver. 21. it appears to be an *Injunction* laid upon *Solomon*, particularly as to the *Courses of the Priests*, that even He could not Alter: For this is there put as Part of *David's Charge* to him. *And behold the Courses of the Priests and the Levites, are for all the Service of the House of the Lord.*

4. That if *Abiathar* or *Eli* before him, of the House of *Ithamar*, had Usurp'd the Supreme H. Priesthood, from *Zadok*, and his Predecessors, of the House of *Eleazar*, as *Josephus* (*Antiq.* l. viii. c. 1.) seems to suppose, and Reckons there five of the Family of *Eleazar*, who had led a privat Life, while the *High-Priesthood* was in the Family of *Ithamar*, which was during the Succession of four, viz. *Eli*, *Abitub*, *Abimelech*, and *Abiathar*; And therefore he says, that *Zadok* was the first *High Priest* under *David*, he means (I suppose) of the House of *Eleazar*. Then, if so, *Solomon's* Depriving *Abiathar*, and putting *Zadok* in his Room, was only Restoring the Right Line: And comes within the Ordinary Power of Kings, who are, by their Places, *Custodes Utriusque Tabulae*, Keepers, and

Protectors of Both the *Tables* of the *Decalogue*, as well of the *First*, which Respects the Worship of *God*, as of the *Second*, that Respects *Justice* betwixt Man and Man; that is, in their own *Sphere*, not to take upon them in any Part of the *Sacerdotal* Office, but to *Coerce*, by the *Secular* Arm, the *Intruders* and *Offenders*. Thus a *KING* may and ought justly, by *Force*, Expel an *Intruding Bishop*, and Restore the *Rightful Bishop*.

But it was offer'd as an Objection to *Josephus*, That those five of the House of *Eleazar*, who, he says, led *Privat* Lives while the *H. Priesthood* was in the House of *Ithamar*, viz. *Bockias* the Son of *Joseph*, *Joathan* the Son of *Bockias*, *Mareoth*, the Son *Joathan*, *Aropha* the Son of *Mareoth*, and *Achitob* the Son of *Aropha*, who was Father to *Zadok*, are not the Names of the *H. Priests* which are recorded in their *Genealogies*, 1 *Chr.* vi. and *Ezr.* vii. for *Josephus* makes *Achitob* to be the Son of *Aropha*; who in the *Scripture Genealogy* is call'd *Amariah*: And he calls *Mareoth* the Son of *Joathan*, but the *H. Scripture* calls him the Son of *Zerabiah*: He makes *Bockias*, or *Bukki* the Son of *Joseph*, who the *H. Scripture* says was the Son of *Abishua*. If he means the same Persons, it is hard to suppose so Great variation in their Names, for there is nothing in the *Scripture Genealogy* like *Joseph*, *Joathan*, or *Aropha*. And

And if these were H. *Priests de Jure*, tho' not *de Facto*, as being put out of Possession by the House of *Ithamar*, then either their Names must be put into the *Genealogy* of the H. *Priests*, or else the Names of those of the House of *Ithamar*, who fill'd the *Pontifical Chair*, while the others led *Privat Lives*, as *Josephus* says. But, as observ'd before, None of the Line of *Ithamar* are Reckon'd in the *Genealogy*. And therefore, tho' they were High *Priests* of the *Second Order*, that is, over the House of *Ithamar*, yet they were not the *Chief* or *Supreme H. Priests*: Or otherwise, if they Usurp'd it, they were not so Esteem'd by *God*, tho' in Possession, but the *Succession* was Reckon'd by the *Priests* who had the *Right*, tho' turn'd out of Possession: And that for *four Generations*, for so many were the H. *Priests* that are Reckon'd of the House of *Ithamar*.

*Selden* tells us (*de succ. in Pontif. 1. 1. c. 2.*) from some *Jewish Authors*, That they did believe the High *Priesthood* was Translated from *Phineas* of the House of *Eleazar*, to *Eli*, the first H. *Priest* reckon'd of the House of *Ithamar*, by the Express Command of *God*, *Ex jussu Numinis*; as supposing it cou'd not be done by *Man*. And he sets down some of the *Rabbies Reasons* for it, as, That *Phineas* and his Family

were so much to Blame for the Many Wickednesses of the *Israelits* under their *Judges*. And particularly, That he being Consulted about *Jephthah's* Vow, Refus'd to Absolve him from it. And therefor that the *Numinis Majestas seu Presentia*, the Divine Presence, or Influence Departed from him. But this looks like the rest of the *Jewish Fables and Traditions*. For if the H. Priesthood had been Translated to *Eli*, by the Command of *God*, it is hard to give a Reason why Neither he nor any of his Posterity should be reckon'd by *God* amongst the H. *Priests*.

Therefor if *Eli* was H. *Priest* (Properly so call'd) and had it not from *God*, it is most Probable, That he *U-rsurp'd* it when he was *Judge*, that is, the *Supreme Civil Magistrat*. And then he will stand the first Example of the *Civil Magistrat's* Incroachment upon the *Church*. For he was then in a Double Capacity, as the *Bishops* of *Rome* are now, having the *Supreme Civil Government* in his hands: And by that might have Exalted himself above his *Station* in the *Church*. Which will come in under the Notion of *Erastianism*, as being carry'd on by a *Civil Power*, tho' in an *Ecclesiastical Person*. This has begot the Distinction (first Broached by the *Rom. Catholicks* themselves) betwixt the *Church* and the *Court of Rome*,  
Then



Then it was Observ'd, That if this *Matter of Fact* was so, This first Example of the *Secular Power Encroaching* upon the *Church*, was attended (as most other Beginnings of Nefarious Wickedness, as of *Schism* in *Korah*, &c. Usually have been) with very Remarkable Judgments. For within *Seven Months* after *Eli's* entring upon his Government, the whole Nation of *Israel* was Conquer'd by the *Philistines*; and Remain'd in Subjection to them all his Life (the longest of any of their *Captivities* before that of *Babylon*) And, which was much more Terrible, the *Ark of God* was (then only) Taken and led away in *Triumph* by these Cursed *Philistines*, and set up as a *Trophy* in the *Temple* of their *Dagon*; The Wicked *Sons of Eli*, who Attended the *Ark*, were Slain; the Armies of *Israel* Routed; *Eli* broke his *Neck*, and the *Glory departed from Israel*. And as if the Government of *Eli* had been the Cause of all these Judgments, within *Seven Months* after his Death, the *Ark* was Miraculously Restor'd, and *Israel* Recover'd their Freedom.

It was Desir'd by one of the Company to shew how this Calculation was Made, that the Conquest of *Israel* by the *Philistines* was within *Seven Months* after *Eli's* entring upon his Government: And the *Restoration*

within *Seven Months* after his Death Which was thus shewn. The Government of *Eli* was 40 years. *1 Sam. iv. 18.* The Captivity of *Israel* to the *Philistines* was 40 years. *Judg. xiii. 1.* And the Restoration of the *Ark* was *Seven Months* after its being Taken. *1 Sam. vi. 1.* and the Death of *Eli* which was the same Day. *1 Sam. iv. 18.* Therefor the Captivity must begin *Seven Months* after *Eli's* entring upon his Government, to Compleat the 40 years of the Captivity.

Then it was further observ'd, That this was the time, and the Occasion why God forsook His *Tabernacle* at *Shiloh*, where it had Remain'd ever since *Israel's* first Possession of *Canaan*, about 450 years, as beforemention'd.

And Moreover, how *Judgments* pursu'd the House of *Eli*; his Sons *Hophni* and *Phineas*; Sons of *Belial*, the most Wicked that ever was heard of in any History, they Robb'd the Men who came to Sacrifice, and Lay with the Women who Assembl'd at the Door of the *Tabernacle*. And thus Corrupted *Israel*, and made them Abhor the Offerings of the Lord: *1 Sam. ii. 12, 16, 17, 22.* These were Slain by the *Philistines*, when the *Ark* was taken. *Achimelech* was Massacr'd by *Saul*, and the whole City of the Priests for his sake. His Son *Abiathar* fell into Treason, and was

was the Last H. Priest of the Line of *Ithamar*. And there was a *Propheſie* of theſe Terrible Judgments upon the Houſe of *Eli*, and of their being Remov'd from the *Prieſthood*. 1 *Sam.* ii. 35. And *Solomon* being an Extra-ordinarily inſpired Perſon, and Raiſed up by God immediately, and *Commiſſionated* by Him in Manner beforemention'd, we cannot Doubt, had Inſtruction likewiſe as to this Caſe of *Abiathar*, and for the fulfilling of that *Propheſie*; Which we are told was the *Deſign* of *Solomon* in what he did. So *Solomon* thruſt out *Abiathar* from being *Prieſt* unto the Lord; that he might fulfil the Word of the Lord which He ſpoke concerning the Houſe of *Eli* in *Shiloh*. 1 *Kin.* ii. 27.

Therefor it was ſaid, That tho' *Abiathar* had been the H. *Prieſt*, properly ſo call'd: And that his Family had not *Uſurp'd* upon the Family of *Eleazar*, but that the *Prieſthood* had been Translated to the Houſe of *Ithamar*, by *Divine* Commiſſion; Here was the ſame *Divine* Commiſſion to Ouſt them, and *Reinſtate* the Family of *Eleazar*. And that neither the one nor the other was within the Ordinary *Regal*, no nor *Human* Power.

But the firſt Hypotheſis did Pleaſe beſt, and ſeem'd to Render all this Matter more Eaſie, That the H. *Prieſthood*, properly ſo call'd, was not Translated  
to

to the House of *Ithamar*; tho' it is  
 Probable that *Eli* the *Second H. Priest*  
 being also *JUDGE* of *ISRAEL*, might  
 take more upon him, as to the *Priest*  
*hood* than he ought, and withdraw his  
*Subjection* to the *First H. Priest*: Which  
 by the Addition of his *Civil Authority*,  
 he did so over-shadow, that no  
 Mention is made, in the Reign of *Eli*  
 of any other *H. Priest* than Himself.  
 But in the Reign of *David* we find that  
*Zadok* gain'd the Ascendent over *Athar*,  
*Athar*, as shewn above, even before  
 being thrust out by *Solomon*. Which  
 it was thought might be, nay that it  
 must be Reckon'd among the *Regulations*  
*ons* of the *Courses* of the *Priests*; And  
 so, that it was by *immediat Divine Com-*  
*mandment*.

5. It was Consider'd how *Dangerous*  
 and *Un-certain* an *Argument* Mere *Example*  
 ample is. Especially in *H. Scriptures*,  
 where Many things, are told very  
*Short*, and the *Reasons* of them not al-  
 ways set down. That the least varia-  
 tion of a *Circumstance* may make them  
*Lawful* in one, which would be a *Sin*,  
 in another. And many *Un-warrantable*  
 Actions are barely Related in *H. Scrip-*  
*ture*, without any *Mark* put upon  
 them. And many *Extraordinary* Actions  
 of *Prophets* and others are told, for  
 which we do not Doubt they had *Divine*  
*Commission*, yet no such *Commission* is



it tion'd. And wherein if we should  
 prie te them, we should greatly Sin.  
 might EXAMPLES are *Encouragements* to  
 prie Duty, in things that are *Command-*  
 w But no *Rule* of themselves. That  
 showing the Example of *Phineas*, gave  
 tho to that *Desperat* and *Bloody Sect* of  
 at the *Zealots* among the *Jews*: And  
 f E the like amongst our selves:  
 mfe Govern themselves Chiefly by *Ex-*  
 d the, and brought mostly out of the  
 r *Testament*, as *Curse ye Meroz*, &c.  
 re like mistaken *Zeal* possess the two  
 Whi *Disciples*, to Imitate *Elias*. Luk.  
 hat 4.

gula that ther being but this one EXAM-  
 A of *Solomon* in all the H. *Scripture* of  
 e Cong's thrusting out a *Priest*, except  
 e it is severely Reprehended by  
 ager as in *Jeroboam*, it is a very Dan-  
 e Eas Method to take no Notice of  
 ipting Examples where God has *Condemn-*  
 ve And to Build only upon one In-  
 not as, from this single Encouragement.  
 vari God has not in that Place Con-  
 e thed it. That *Condemning* it in some  
 e a S, shews it not to be within the  
 anta Commission: And therefor the  
 H. Sc ple of it in Another *King* must  
 up likewise *Condemnable*, tho it be not  
 ction Express: Or otherwise, that *King*  
 d, f have had some *Extra-ordinary*  
 ad D mission from God for the doing of  
 miff it must be supposed that *Solomon*  
 Me here

here had; Else no Doubt it had been a *Sin* in him, as well as in Another. That is, if it was any more than a *Civil Sentence of Banishment*, as before has been Discours'd.

6. That it is certain the *Levitical Priesthood* was set up by God 400 years before there was a *King in Israel*. As the *Evangelical Priesthood* was 300 years before there was a *Christian King* in the World. And therefor, That neither the One nor the Other cou'd be Made *Dependent* upon *Kings*. That since *Christian Kings* do Build the *Regale* upon the Precedent of the *Jewish Kings*, it must go against them. Seeing they must Grant, That it was not in the Power of the *Jewish Kings* to Alter the *Aaronical Priesthood*, and set up other *Priests* in their Place. And that as well the *King*, as all the *People* were to be Directed by the *H. Priest*, as it is written. *Numb. xxvii. 21. At his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he (the King or Chief Governor) and all the Children of Israel with him, even all the Congregation.*

IX. Here one Interpos'd, and Desir'd to know, how all this would Agree with our present *Laws*, and since the *Reformation*. And Instanc'd the *Statutes 25 H. viii. c. 19, and 37 H. viii. c. 17, &c.* with the Commission that Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* took out for his *Bishoprick* from

from *Edw. vi.* which is Inserted in *Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*, Part. 2. *Collect. Record.* to Book 1. N. 2. p. 90. And the like done by other *Bishops*, whereby they held their *Bishopricks* during Pleasure of the *King*. And own'd to Derive all their Power even Ecclesiastical, from the *Crown*, *Velut à Supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum nostrum Magistratum Fonte & Scaturigine*, as from the *Fountain* and *Original* of it, &c. To this it was said,

i. That all this is to be understood only of the *Civil Power* and *Authority*, which by the *Laws* of the *Land*, were Annex'd to the *Sacred Office*. As the *Civil Jurisdiction* that is Granted to the *Bishops Courts*, to the *Bishops* themselves, as *Lords of Parliament*, &c. To the *Civil Penalties* which follow their *Excommunications*, and the *Legal Protection* to their *Ordinations*, and other *Acts* of their *Office*. And these are Deriv'd *Onely* and *Solely* from the *King*. Nothing of this was Granted to the *Apostles*, or the *Bishops*, their *Successors* by *Christ*. And as the *State* Granted these, they may Recall them, if ther be sufficient Reason for it.

That in that very Commission before-mention'd, which was given to *Cranmer* for his *Bishoprick*, ther is an Exception, *Per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris Literis Divinitus Commissa esse dignoscuntur*

*scuntur.* (i. e.) Over and above those Powers and Authorities, which the Holy Scriptures do testifie, are given to thee by God. These the King did not take upon him to Grant. But only what was over and above these, that is, The Protection and Civil Privileges. Granted by the State, which were Annex'd, to Fortify and Encourage these. And take Notice, That that of which the King is here call'd the Head and Fountain, is *Omnium Magistratum*, of all the Magistracy within his Dominions, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal: For ther is a Civil Magistracy Annex'd by the Laws to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. And of this only ought these Expressions to be Meant. Because we see the other, the Spiritual Authority which in H. Scripture is Granted to the Church, is expressly Excepted. And that Ecclesiastical Authority which in this Commission is said to flow from the King, is, *Juris dicendi Autoritas, & Quacunque ad Forum Ecclesiasticum pertinent.* That is, the Episcopal Jurisdiction, consider'd as a Forum, a Court Establish'd by the Secular Power, and Part of the Laws of the Land.

That in the said *Hist. of the Reformation*, Part. I. in the *Addenda* N. v. p. 321. ther is *A Declaration made of the Function and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*, subscrib'd by the Lord



Crowwell, then *Vice-Gerent* to King H. viij. in Ecclesiastical Matters, by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, with the Arch-Bishop of York, Eleven other *Bishops*, and Twenty *Divines* and *Canonists*, Declaring that the Power of the *Keys*, and other *Church Functions* is formally Distinct from the *Civil Power*, &c. And *ibid. Collect. Record. N. x. p. 177.* There is the Judgment of Eight *Bishops* concerning the King's *Supremacy*, whereof *Cranmer* the first, Asserting that the Commission, which *Christ* gave his *Church* had No Respect to Kings or Princes Power: But that the *Church* had it by the Word of God, To which *Christian Princes* know ledge themselves Subject. They deny that the Commission *Christ* gave to His *Church* did Extend to *Civil Power* over Kings and Princes: And they own that the *Civil Power* was over *Bishops* and *Priests*, as well as other Subjects, that is, in *Civil Matters*, which the *Church* of *Rome* did Deny. But they Assert that *Bishops* and *Priests* have the Charge of Souls, are the Messengers of *Christ*, to Teach the Truth of His Gospel, and to Loose and Bind Sin, &c. as *Christ* was the Messenger of His Father. Which sure was Independent of all Kings and Powers upon Earth.

Here one desir'd it might not be For- got, That *Bonner* took out the same Commission for his *Bishoprick* from Hen. viii.

viii. as that beforemention'd of *Cranmer* from *Edw. vi.* which is, *verbatim* Inserted in the said *Hist. of the Reform.* Part. 1. Collect. Record. to B. 3. p. 184.

And that the *Convocation* who made that *Submission of the Clergy*, 25 H. viii. Were All *Rom. Catholicks*, for it was before the Beginning of the *Reformation*, before the King's *Supremacy* was Enacted, which, when enacted afterwards, was grounded upon this *Submission of the Popish Clergy*, And the Acknowledgment of both *Convocations* before that time (22 H. viii.) Who Own'd the King as *Supreme Head of the Church* within his own Dominions. This was the *First time*, and these *Popish Bishops and Clergy* were the *First* who Bestowed that Title upon the King: With which they have ever since Upbraided the *Reformation*.

ii. It was further said, That as our *Laws* stand at Present, the *Church* is left wholly *Independent* on the *State*, as to Her purely *Spiritual Power* and *Authority*.

Because our Kings Claim no other Ecclesiastical Authority than was Granted by God to the Kings in H. Scripture. And what that was we have seen before, to have nothing in it but Mere Civil Power; tho' it might be Exercised over Ecclesiastical Persons (who are *Subject*, as all others, as CHRIST Himself was, to the *Civil Powers* in all *Civil things*)  
And

And in *Ecclesiastical Causes* too, to Punish with *Temporal Pains*, as well *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, and *Hereticks*, as *Thieves*, *Robbers*, &c. As well the *Transgressors* against the *First* as *Second Table*.

Thus the *Godly Kings* in *H. Scripture* did. Thus they were *Impower'd* by *God*.

And this, and no more is *Attributed* to our *KINGS*, as it is fully *Expressed* in our *37th Article*. viz. *That only Prerogative which we see to have been given Always to All Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself. That is, To Rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, Whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal: And to Restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and Evil doers.* These are the Words of the *Article*.

And hence it was *Urg'd*, That the *Precedents* drawn from any *Extra-ordinary Acts* of *Moses*, *David*, or *Solomon* are hereby *Excluded*. Because it is said such *Prerogative*, and such *Only*, as was *ALWAYS* given, and to *ALL Godly Princes*. And that is *Explain'd*, viz. *To Restrain with the CIVIL Sword*.

That therefor, by this, All *Ecclesiastical Power* whatsoever is utterly *Disown'd* and *Disclaim'd*. Tho' the *Civil Power*, as said before, May be *Exercis'd* upon *Ecclesiastical Persons*, and in *Ecclesiastical Causes*.

That this was made in *Explanation*  
F of

of the *Oath of Supremacy*. And therefore does Oblige Us to Understand those Words in that *Oath*, where the KING is said to be *Supreme Governor*, as well in all *Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes*, as *Temporal*, to Extend Only to *Civil Government*, and the Power of the *Civil Sword*.

That this Explanation was made Necessarily, for, as Bishop Burnet tells us (*Hist. Reform. Part. ii. p. 386.*) the Bishops oppos'd the *Queens Supremacy*, as set forth in that *Oath*; And many Others were Offended at it. And the same Bishop, in his *Travels*, Letter i. from *Zurich*, p. 52. of the *Dutch Edition* at *Rotterdam*. An. 1686. Quotes a Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Bullinger, Dated the 22 May, 1559. Wherein he writes, *That the Queen refus'd to be call'd Head of the Church*, and adds, *That that Title cou'd not be justly given to any Mortal*. Therefore Q. Eliz. laid aside the Title of *Head of the Church*, and instead thereof the Word *Governor* was put into the *Oath*, as it stands to this day. The KING being now stil'd therein only *Supreme Governor*, which is a more *Secular Word* than *Head* (tho' it may Mean the same thing) And, as here Explain'd, Means only *Supreme Civil Governor*.

That this Article Mentions Q. Eliz's *Injunctions*, which Explain and Limit the



the *Regal Supremacy*, as it has done. And Desires that none shou'd take the *Oath* in any other Sense.

That *Primat Usher* gave the same Explanation of it, in a *Speech* at the *Council-Table* in *Dublin*, upon Occasion of some *Magistrates* there, who Refus'd the said *Oath*. And *K. Jam. 1.* sent him a *Letter* of *Thanks* and *Approbation* of his *Speech*. Both which are in *Print*.

And that None of our Succeeding *KINGS* or *Parliaments* have given any other Explanation of it, or Requir'd that it should be taken in any other Sense; But all along Refer to these.

That the 39 *Articles* are Incorporated into our *Laws*, And Requir'd to be subscribed by *Act of Parliament*.

That therefor, if any think the former *Acts of Parliament* 25 *H. viii. c. 19.* the 37 *H. viii. c. 17. &c.* And the *Commissions* for *Bishopricks*, taken out by *Cranmer, Bonner, &c.* cannot be Reconcil'd by the Means beforementioned, with that Exposition in the 37th *Article*, &c. And with several *Practices* formerly, or at this Day: Yet this they must grant, That not only former *Customs*, but *Acts of Parliament*, are *Superseded* and *Annull'd* by *Later Acts of Parliament*. And therefor if those *Former Acts* cannot be so Construed as to Agree with the *Later*, the *Later* must take Place. And so on all hands it is

Plain, That as our *Laws* stand at *Present*, the *Church* is left wholly *Independent* on the *State*, as to Her purely *Spiritual* Power and Authority. *Quod erat Demonstrandum.* And if ther is or has been any *Practices* contrary to these *Laws*, yet that *Annuls* not the *Laws*.

And as the Original Rights of the *Church* are here Asserted *Independent* of the *Civil* Power : So likewise her *Authority*, is not left Un-Determin'd, in her *Spiritual* Capacity, even over the *KING* himself; not only to Debar him the *Prayers* and *Sacraments*, but to proceed to *Excommunication*, if other Methods Prevail not to bring him to *Penance* for *Open Scandals*. Thus it is Express'd in *The Second Part* of the *Homily* of the *Right Use* of the *Church*, where after having spoke of *Christ's* Scourging the *Buyers* and *Sellers* out of the *Temple*, these words follow, *And according to this Example* of our *Saviour Christ*, in the *Primitive Church*, which was most *Holy* and *Godly*, and the which due *Disciplin* with *Severity* was *Used* against the *Wicked*, *Open Offenders* were not suffer'd once to enter into the *House* of the *Lord*, or *Admitted* to *Common Prayer*, and the *Use* of the *Holy Sacraments* with other true *Christians*, until they had done *Open Penance* before the whole *Church*. And this was *Fractised*,  
not

not only upon *Mean Persons*, but also upon the *Rich, Noble, and Mighty Persons*; yea, upon *Theodolius*, that *Puissant and Mighty Emperor*, whom, for *Committing a grievous and wilful Murder*, *St. Ambrose Bishop of Milain* *Reprov'd sharply*, and did also *Excommunicat* the said *Emperor*, and brought him to *Open Penance*. Some have bestow'd a *Marginal Note* upon this Place, and say, *He was only Dehorted from Receiving the Sacrament, until by Repentance he might be better Prepar'd*. But ther was something more in it, or else, both the *History* of it, and the *Homily* have been foully mistaken. The *Homily* says, he was *Excommunicated*, and brought to *Open Penance*. Let who will Comment upon these words. They are Confirm'd, and every *Clergy-Man* in the Nation oblig'd, by *Act of Parliament*, to *Subscribe* them. They are Part of our 39 *Articles of Religion*. And stand to this Day *Un-Repealed*. And therefor are a sufficient Explanation of the Sense both of *Church* and *State* in this Matter. And if some of our *Divines* would Explain the *Doctrine* of our *Church*, more by her *Articles, Homilies, and Canons*, than the Sense of privat *Doctors*, they would go upon surer Grounds, and have better Success.

Tho' ther want not *Doctors*, even *Modern*, and of no small *Reputation*, who have given sufficient Testimony against the *Erastian Construction* of

our *Laws*; or *Obligation* of them, if so Constru'd.

Summary of the Controv. P. 119. That of Dr. *Sherlock* is Full and Express, which is Quoted at the End of the *Preface*, That *Bishops* have no Right to Give away those *Powers* which *Christ* has given them. And if *Granted* by them, that the *Grant* is *Void*, and they ought to *Re-Assume* them. Much more, if *Taken* from them, by Any whatsoever.

And Dr. *Burnet*, now *Bishop* of *Salisbury*, whose *History* of the *Reformation* is before Quoted, as to the Sense of the *Laws* then made, is Fuller upon that Point, in a *Treatise* wrote since, when the *Popish* Controversy was a foot, and he was in *Holland*; It is Entitled, *Reflections on the Relation of the English Reformation, lately Printed at Oxford*. This was Printed at *Amsterdam* for J. S. 1688. There in the 1st Part, speaking of the *Acts* of *Parliament* that concern the *KING's* *Supremacy*, he says, p. 18. *When our Author doth, &c. Then may we Undertake to justify all the Flourishes that may be in any Act of Parliament—It is a very Unreasonable thing to Urge some General Expressions, or some STRETCHES of the Royal Supremacy, and not to Consider that more strict Explanation that was Made of it, both in K. Hen. viii's time and under Q. Elizabeth.* And p. 19. he says, *Upon the Definition of the King's*  
Supre-



*Supremacy, in The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, All People were obliged to take their Measures, and not upon some Expressions either in Acts of Parliament, or Acts of Convocation, nor upon some STRETCHES of the King's Jurisdiction. In this (Erudition of a Christian Man) it is Plainly said, That Bishops and Priests are Bound to obey all the King's Laws, not being Contrary to the Laws of God; So that here is Expressed that Necessary Reserve upon their Obedience, it being Provided that they were only Bound to obey, When the Laws were not Contrary to the Laws of God. The other Reserve is also made; Of All that Authority which was committed by Christ and his Apostles to the Bishops and Priests, And we are not ashamed to Own it Freely, That we see no other Reserves in our Obedience to the King besides these. [ He go's on to Q. Eliz's Explanation, and says p. 20. ] That since this sense was not only given by Q. Eliz. who Allowed such as took the Oath to Declare that they took it in that Sense; but it was afterwards Enacted both in Convocation and in Parliament, and put into the Body of our Confession of Faith, this Explanation must be Consider'd as the true Measure of the King's Supremacy: And the wide Expressions in the former Laws must be Understood to be Restrain'd by this: Since Posterior Laws Derogat from those*

were at first Made, &c. [And Quoting the Queens Injunctions, he says] This is All the Supremacy which we are Bound in Conscience to Own. And if the Letter of the Law, or the Stretches of that in the Administration of it, have Carry'd this farther, we are not at all Concern'd in it. But in Case any such thing were made out, it cou'd Amount to no more than this, That the Civil Authority had made some Encroachments on Ecclesiastical Authority. But the submitting to an Oppression, and Bearing it till some Better Times may Deliver us from it, is no Argument against our Church, &c. And p. 21. he says, We may see in Godeau, and many other Modern Writers, how much they complain of this, as a servitude, under which their Church (the French) is brought, and an Infraction of All the Antient Canons. Again, p. 23. If the Great and Unmeasur'd Extent of the Papal Authority made our Princes Judge it necessary to secure themselves from those Innovations, by Stretching their Jurisdiction a little too much, &c. And if in the time of our Reformation, some of our Bishops, or other Writers have carry'd the Royal Supremacy too Far, either in Acts of Convocation, or in their Writings; As those things are Personal Matters, in which we are not at all concern'd, who do not Pretend to Assert an Infallibility in our Church; So their Excess in this was a thing so Natural,

ral, that we have all possible reason to Excuse it, or at least to Censure it very Gently, &c. And p. 28. It is certain no Clergy in the World can make such a Deputation, &c. This is Agreeable to what is before Quoted of Dr. Sherlock, That the Clergy cannot give up their Powers, nor Depute a Convocation so to do. Again, p. 54. Speaking of the Act of Submission, he says, The Clergy did not Bind themselves never to meet without the King's Writ. They only said, that the Convocation had ever been, and ought Always to be Assembled by the King's Writ: Yet it doth not Bind them up from Meeting, in Case the Necessities of the Church Require it, and that the King refuses his Writ. This supports Dr. Atterbury's Exposition of it. Lastly, for what I shall Quote at this time, he says, p. 92. The Civil Supremacy that we Ascribe to our Kings, &c. Here he gives the King only a Civil Supremacy, tho', as said before, this Civil Power may be Exercis'd over Ecclesiastical Persons, and in Ecclesiastical Causes. And this is fully Agreeable to the 37th Article, and that Exposition of it, and of our Laws, which has been Given: And now carries more Force with it, having the concurrence of so Learned a Person, and so Particularly Skill'd in the History of our Reformation. Who owns it as Part of our Confession of Faith.

More

More might be brought from the same *Judicious* Author, and others of as Great Name in the *Church of England*, to Ballance the Authorities that are Produc'd out of Her *Writers* on the other side, for whom the *Bishop* here has made an Excuse, that the *Torrent* and *Prejudices* of those Times, ought, at least, to make our *Censure* of them very *Ease*. To which we are very willing. And won'd *Hide* them. But the Continual *Quoting* of them by the *Regale-Men*, and Heaping up *Catalogues* of them, do's *Expose* them, and the *Church of England* with them. And then Laying the Whole *Stress* of their *Cause* upon such *Precedents*, Renders it very *Precarious*. And Forces the *Church-Men* to Produce some Contrary *Precedents*. But they not laying their *Issue* barely upon *Precedents*, These may suffice for this time. Tho' they say, More are Ready, when Call'd for, And that it can be to any Purpose: For having vindicated the *Sense* of our *Laws* by our *Articles* and *Homilies*, which are Confirm'd both by *Convocation* and *Parliament*, what need is ther of the Suffrage of *Privat Persons*?

X.  
The Present State of the Controversy. From that of the *Laws*, the Discourse turn'd to the *Present State* of the *Controversy* concerning the *Independency* of the *Church*: Occasion'd by the



the Now Unhappy *Schism*, which has Arisen in the *Church of England*, upon that single Point. For tho' the *Depriv'd Bishops* and *Clergy* went out upon Account of the *Oaths*, yet this Made no *Schism*. No not even when they were actually *Depriv'd* and *Ousted* by *Act of Parliament*. That the *Schism* did not Commence till the Day of the *Consecration* of *New Bishops* into the *Sees* of the *Bishops* who were *Ejected*: For then, and not till then, ther were *Bishops* and *Anti-Bishops*, and *Opposit Altars* set up.

The Company did not Meddle at all with the *State-point*, as to the *Oaths*. But kept themselves Intirely to the *Church-point*, of her *Independency*, as to her purely *Spiritual* Authority, from the *State*. And that not only here in *England*, with Relation either to Past or Present Occurrences: But all the World over; upon the *Intrinsical* and *Original Rights* of the *Church*. Tho' the Present Occasion has Started the Dispute amongst Us; And therefor the Company desir'd to follow that as far as it has gone, that we might see the true State of it, on all sides.

I. Dr. *Hody*, and those who write on his side, do not take upon them to Justifie *Lay-Deprivations*. But only to Comply with them, tho' supposing them to be not only *Un-just*, but *Invalid*; if Impos'd by an *Irrestable Power*; And that

that the *Bishops* whom the *Lay-Power* do's put into the *Sees* of the *Ejected*, are *Orthodox* in the *Faith*.

They support this Hypothesis upon the Authority of *Precedents*. Which they would Improve to be the *Practice* of the Whole *Catholick Church*, in all Ages. And therefor, a sufficient *Rule* to Determine *Conscience*.

But whereas several *Precedents* are given on the contrary side in the *Vindication* of the *Dep. Bishops*, and the *Historical Collections*, concerning *Church Affairs*, &c. of those who Adher'd to their *Bishops* when *Unjustly*, but most of all if *Invalidly* Depriv'd, tho' the *Successor* was *Orthodox* in the *Faith*: Therefor they Add, That these *Successors* were Rejected for other Reasons, *Either because they were accounted Hereticks: Or because their Orders were look'd upon to be Null and Invalid, as being Deriv'd (either immediatly or mediatly) from some who were Accounted Hereticks: Or because they Communicated with Hereticks: Or Lastly, because they were for some other Crime Excommunicated.*

*Reflections*  
on the *Re-*  
*marks* up-  
on the viii.  
*Occasional*  
*Paper*, &c.  
P. 27.

And it was said, That it wou'd be hard indeed to find a *Bishop*, against whom some of these *Objections* might not Lie: For Example, All the *Bishops* of the *Reformation*, as well in *England*, as elsewhere, are struck off at one Blow: For they All Deriv'd their *Orders* from those

those whom they now Account to be, and then to have been *Hereticks*. And for this Reason their Orders are Accounted to be *Null* and *Invalid* by Many of our *Dissenters*.

And the Ordinations of the Church of Rome must go off too, especially since the Council of Constance, that turned out all the Popes were then in the World, which were three Opposit or *Anti-Popes*, contending one against another. And they cannot say of Any of their Ordinations at this Day, That they are not Deriv'd from some of these *Anti-Popes*.

Nay all the Churches as far as the *Arian* Heresie Reach'd, may come under this Objection. For Many of their Ordinations were Deriv'd from some or other who were *Arians*, *Semi-Arians*, &c. or Suspected so to be. And the Scene of these Precedents alledg'd, being Chiefly in those Ages, wherein this Controversy was most Hotly Debated: Pretences of this sort, cou'd hardly be Wanting against Any, Whom they otherwise Dislik'd.

Besides that, as shewn in the *Vindication of the Dep. Bishops*, p. 24. &c. the Notion of *Heresie* was then taken in a Much More Large Sense than it is Understood Now with Us: That it was then Apply'd to Any Separation that was made upon Any Principle.

So

So that if it cou'd be Alledg'd that, such a *Bishop* did but ONCE *Communicate*, or Joyn so much as in *Prayer*, or any *Holy Office*, at a *Marriage* or a *Chriftening*, with any so Accounted: Or Lastly, if any other *Crime* can be Charg'd upon him ——— Now some of these *Excuses* will never be Wanting, where Men will *Fish* for them. And under the *Terror* of an *Irresistable Power*, it is very Natural to think, That Most Men wou'd be Inclin'd to put the Cause of their *Non-Compliance* with that *Power*, upon any thing rather than to Dispute the *Authority* of such a *Power*.

Especially Considering, That Dr. *Hody* himself, from his *Baroccian* *Mss* makes some of the *Second Bishops*, who came in the Room of St. *John Chrysostome*, when he was *Depriv'd*, to be *Saints*; and so Free from all these *Exceptions*. And yet tells of those Numbers of *Christians*, who therefor were call'd *Joannites*, because they Adher'd to *John* their *Depriv'd Bishop*: And cou'd not be Charm'd with the *Saintship* of any *Second Bishop*, during his *Life*; Nor Frighted with the *Irresistable Power* of the *Emperor*, which was let loose upon them, to make them own the *Second Bishops* he had set up. Hence that Bold *Challenge* was thought very strange, which is Given, in Most *Peremptory* terms, p. 27. of *Reflex*. before Quoted,  
To



To shew as much as one single Person, throughout all the fourth Age (in which St. Chrysostome liv'd) that actually stood out, on that Account.

But in Former Ages, their standing out upon that Account, was shewn to have been much more Universal. Which Dr. Hody Excuses, only because there was not then an Irresistable Power to Compel them. And upon this Alone he do's Resolve the whole Cause. For when the Practice not only of single Persons, but Churches, Nay of the whole Catholick Church was Produc'd, against Submitting to Second Bishops, during the Lives of the First Lawful Bishops, if In-validly Depriv'd, Dr. Hody concludes his Case of Sees vacant, by Unjust or Un-Canonical Deprivations, with an Answer to this, in these Words, p. 195.

*It is Alleged by one of our Adversaries, That the Novatians, the Donatists, and the Meletians of Egypt were Schismatics, in the Opinion of the Church, because the Bishops who first Headed them were Second Bishops. But this is easily Answer'd: For the Bishops whom they follow'd, were not set up by any Sovereign Coercive Power, in the Room of others Depos'd; but were set up by inferior Persons, against others possess'd of the Sees. I have already said, That it is not every one whom a Small tumultuous Party shall*

*The Unity of Priesthood, &c. p. 58, 59.*

*get*

get to be Ordain'd, that ought to be received as a Bishop; but that which we Maintain is this, THAT WHERE THE LAWFUL BISHOP IS DEPOSED BY AN IRRESISTABLE PARTY, THERE THE SUCCESSOR MAY BE ACKNOWLEDGED.

It was said to this, That tho' the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, &c. were not Irresistable, yet they were very Powerful Parties: And kept up Long and Great Schisms in the Church. And in some Places they were Irresistable, that is, had the Greater Force.

That, by this Rule, they were not the *Schismaricks* in those Places: But those who Opposed them were the *Schismaricks*. Tho' in other Places, where they were less Powerful, there they were the *Schismaticks*: And those who Opposed them Preserved the Unity of the Church. And if they had been set up by any Sovereign Coercive Power, by the Roman Emperor, then had there never been such *Schismaticks* in the Church as the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, or *Meletians*: But they had been the Church, and the Church had been the *Schismaticks*.

So that, by this, the Notions of a Church, and of Schism, are very Uncertain things: And may Change sides with every Wind of Persecution, or of Power, or of Fright! And that may Appear Ir-Resistable to One, which is  
not

not to Another. But can we oppose *Ir-Resistable Force*? Said one. No, said another, for if we *Oppose* it, it is not *Ir-Resistable*. But what sort of *Opposition* do you Mean? For *Lawful Powers* are not to be *Resisted* by *Arms*, tho' we had Strength to do it, under Penalty of *Damnation*. Rom. xiii. 2. Therefor they are Always *Ir-Resistable*, in that Sense. But if you mean by *Resistance*, not Complying with their *Unjust* Commands, then no Power upon Earth can be *Irresistable*; Because the *Resistance* is by *Suffering*, by *Prayers* and *Tears*, which are the *Arms* of the *Church*.

That if it be *Lawful* to support the *Faith* of the *Church* against an *Irresistable Party*, why not the *Government* and *Discipline* of the *Church*? Since without these the *Church* cannot stand, nor Exert that *Commission* which was given to Her by *Christ*.

That wherever the *Government* of the *Church* is Plac'd, all *Appeals*, even as to Matters of *Faith*, must Determin there.

Suppose that not long ago the *King* had got a *Majority* of *Popish Bishops* in the *Convocation*. Whither shou'd we have *Appeal'd* from that *Convocation*?

To whom shall *All* the *Bishops*, shall *Episcopacy* it self now *Appeal* in *Scotland*?

And if the *Government* of the *Church* be put into the Hands of *Papists* or

*Presbyterians, &c.* How shall we secure the Faith ?

Therefore it was wish'd, That Dr. Hody, &c. wou'd let us know where they intend to Stop, upon this their Principle of *Complying*, tho' in *Un-just* things, with *Irresistable Force*. Will they stop at *Episcopacy*? If so, then is it not the Cause of *Episcopacy* which they Oppose? Since the same *Irresistable Power* that cou'd Deprive Nine Bishops in *England*, May Deprive them *All*, and *Episcopacy* it self, as in *Scotland*. That if the *State* cannot Deprive 26 Bishops, they cannot Deprive ONE. And if ONE, they may 26. So that it is not the Cause of the Depriv'd, but of *All Bishops*, of *Episcopacy* it self which is here concern'd. And yielding it in one Instance, is giving up the *Whole*.

It was observ'd how very Jealous our *Parliaments* have been of Allowing any *Precedent*, whereby the *Life* or *Estate* of the *Meaneſt Subject* should be at the *Arbitrary* Disposal of the *King*. Because, by the same *Rule*, the *Life* and *Liberty* of Every *Subject* must Lie at his *Mercy*.

That *Eneroachments* are made by *Degrees*, from One Step to Another. And the best time to Stop is at the Beginning: Before we have given *Precedents* against our selves; have yielded the Cause,



Cause, and are entirely *Subdu'd*. Then it will be too Late. And the *Power* will be more *Irresistable*. And Men's *Courage* will grow Less.

That it was a Common and a Just Judgment for Men to Fall from one *Wickedness* to Another. That to *Consent*, or *Comply* with the *Wickedness* of Another, is to Make my self Guilty of it. As it is Written. *Psal. L. 18. When thou sawest a Thief, thou Consentedst with him, and hast been Partaker with Adulterers.*

That no *Examples* are Sufficient to Justify this, of no *Church*, at no *Age*, no, not of the *Apostles* themselves: Of whom One *Betray'd* his Master; Another *Foreswore* Him; All *Forsook* Him.

That Insisting upon such *Topicks*, May Expose the *Infirmities* of *Human Nature*, and the *Failings* of the *Best* of *Men*: But can never Justifie our *Imitation* of them, For we must not Follow a *Multitude* to do *Evil*: Nor Decline after *Many* (if it were the whole World) to wrest Judgment. *Exod. xxiii. 2.* For the *Nature* of things do's not Alter for our *Opinion* or *Practice* of them. *Truth* is *Truth*, and *In-justice* is *Injustice*, if All the World shou'd say the Contrary. And, by the same Necessity, *Evil* is to be *Avoided*, and *Good* to be Follow'd.

That therefor, to yield *Lay-Deprivations* to be *Un-just*, and *In-valid*: And yet to Argue for our *Compliance* with them, is to do *Evil*, that *Good* may come of it: And to make it *Right* to *Comply* with *Wrong*.

That it is indeed Destroying all Notion of *Right* and *Wrong*: For if it be *Right* to *Comply* with the *Wrong*, then it is *Wrong* to *Comply* with the *Right*; as these say of those who *Comply* with the *Depriv'd Bishops* (allowing these *Bishops* to have the *Right*) For they Accuse them of being Guilty of the *Schism*, and of all the *Evils* that follow.

We are Commanded by the *Apostle*, to *Eschew Evil*, and *do Good*. 1 *Per.* iii. 2. But these Command Us to *Comply* with the *Evil*, and *Eschew* the *Good*, if so bidden by an *irresistable Party*!

That this justifies all *PROSPEROUS Schisms* and *Usurpations*: For they would not be *Prosperous*, if the *Major Number* did not go in to them: And the *Major* is the *Irresistable Party*.

That, by this Rule, the *Ten Tribes* had not been the *Schismaticks*, tho' they Threw off the *Priesthood* of *Levi*: But the *Two Tribes*, who stuck to it, were the *Schismaticks*, because the *Fewest* in *Number*. And those of the *Ten Tribes* who (as *Tyber*) would not own the *Priesthood* set up by the *Civil Power*, but brought their *Tythes* to *Jerusalem*, and gave

gave them to the *Priests* of *Levi*, were in so doing, Guilty of *Schism*.

That whatever *Schisms* have been amongst the *Churches* within the *Roman Empire*, were Nothing so much in Respect to the *Catholick Church*, as the *Ten Tribes* were in Proportion to the *Two Tribes* in the *Church of Israel*, the then Only Visible *Church of God* in the *World*.

That Many of our *Schisms* in the *West*, were never heard of by the Numerous *Christian Churches* in the *East* of *Asia*, among the *Abyssines* in *Africa*, and other far Distant *Churches*: Which, because not well known to Us, we must by no means cast off from the Body of the *Catholick Church*.

That therefor we must not make a Computation of the *Catholick Church* from that Part of it which was within the Compass of the *Roman Empire*, tho' call'd *Oecumenical*.

No. Nor can we know the *Principles* even of that Part of it, Merely by the *Practice*, tho' of the *Generality*, when under an *Irresistable Force*. For then Men do not speak their Judgments *Freely*: And Many will be *Silent*, for *Fear*, whose *Principles* are Contrary to the Proceedings of the *Irresistable Party*.

That therefore the *Principles* of those Ages are better to be Gather'd from their *Writings* than their *Practices*.

And that all those *Fathers* and *Councils*

cils who Speak against the *Regale*, or Power of the *Civil Government* over the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, either to *Elect* or *Deprive* their *Bishops*: To *obstruct*, or *over-awe* their *Synods*, &c. Must be suppos'd likewise to Forbid *Complying* with what they thought *Evil*: And so *Great an Evil*, as they Made this *Usurpation* of the *Regale* over the *Church* to be, even the *Reign of Anti-Christ*; And setting up the *King* in the Place of *Christ*, as we shall see hereafter.

Against which the *Actual Compliance*, tho' of the *Generality*, was not to be Urg'd: For that these Commonly Run down the *Stream*. And our *B. Saviour* has Caution'd Us against the *Broad Way*, wherein ther is always *Most Company*.

Therefor this *Topick* was Dismiss'd, of justifying *Compliance* with *Lay-Deprivations*, supposing them to be both *Un-just*, and *In-valid*. It was Look'd upon as a *Betraying* of the *Cause*. And all desir'd to turn to those who take upon them to Maintain the *Validity* of *Lay-Deprivations*; as being the *Onely* thing that cou'd Determine this Controversy.

II. The first produc'd upon this Head, was Dr. *Wake* his *Authority of Christian Princes Asserted*, &c. Printed Ann. 1697. Wherein he sets up the *Regale*, to the very Height. But tho' he, and those who take his Part, seem to go upon another



other *Topick* than the former, yet it comes all into One : Because they support the *Right* of the *Regale* Merely upon *Precedents*. Which is the same as to say, That it has no other *Right*. And that is indeed a perfect yielding up of the *Right* ; Only Pleading for *Compliance* with it, upon the *Authority* of *Precedents* : Which is the same *Topick* with the Former. One says it is *Right*, because ther are *Precedents* for it : The other says, That it is *Right* to *Comply* with it, for the same Reason. So that *Precedents* are the Top and Bottom, the Whole that is Alledg'd for this Cause of the *Regale* on Both sides.

Several of these *Precedents* were touch'd upon. Some were shewn to be *Modern*, and of no *Authority* : Others that were not truly *Related*, with the *Circumstances* Necessary : And others which are truly *Related*, to Make nothing to the *Purpose* intended : And *Several* which made directly *against* it. But *None* that were of *Authority* sufficient to Establish or Justify the *Regale*. Besides *Contrary Precedents* which were of Greater Authority. And not Answer'd by any of the *Regaleists*. And that Dr. *Wake* himself, when he comes a little to the *Reasoning* part, overthrows all that Power of the *Regale*, which he had built upon the Authority of *Precedents*.

Which is shew'd among the *Consequences* of this *Principle* of the *Regale*.

Sect. xvi. N. iii. And not to Interrupt the thred of this Discourse, it was Desir'd, That we should Proceed to Enquire into the *Original* of the *Regale*: For this was thought the Clearest Method to let us see into the Bottom of this Cause.

XI.  
*Original  
of the Re-  
gale.*

The first Instance of the *Regale*, in a King's Depriving *Priests* was *Jeroboam*, of which we have spoke before, p. 39. and of the Provocations he had to do it. As to that of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, it was no more Insisted upon.

But to come to the *Christian Church*, and follow the *Authers* before-nam'd, who, of late, have handl'd this Controversy. The *Historical Collections*, c. 2. §. 1. p. 69, 70, 71. give an Account, That the *Donatists* were the first who Appeal'd to the *Secular Power* in an *Ecclesiastical Cause*, which was to Decide the Dispute they had Rais'd concerning the Election of *Cacilianus* into the *See of Carthage*. But *Constantine* Refus'd to Accept their *Appeal*, as not belonging to him. And Own'd, That the Power of *Elections* of *Bishops*, and the *Judging* of them was only in the *Bishops*. That He himself was to be Subject to their *Judgment*. That it was a Work of the *Devil*, and an *Outragious, Daring Fury* in these *Donatists*, whom he therefore calls *Proditors*, to Refuse the *Judgment* of the *Bishops*,  
Which

Which he calls, *The Heavenly Judgment*; and to *Appeal to Me* (says he) for *My Judgment*. And he calls this *Insulting upon God*. And a Great deal more of such *Vehemence* which he uses against that first Rise of submitting the *Sacred* to the *Civil Power*, in *Ecclesiastical Causes*. Which *Epistle* of that *Godly* and *First Christian Emperor*, is, *Inter gesta purgationis Cæciliani & Felicis*, in *sine Op. Optati*. Ed. Paris. And great Part of it is Quoted in the *Hist. Collect.* p. 70, 71. The *Emperor* says, *That it is as Clear as the Sun at Noon Day, that God had ordain'd his Church Only to Judge in such Cases*: And wou'd not be Join'd in Commission with them, as if he had any *Act or Part* in it. *What Madness*, (says he) *is it which possesseth them, that, with an Incredible Arrogance, they think they may do that which may be Lawfully neither Spoke nor Heard*: And departing from the *Rightful Judgment*, which *God hath Appointed*, they require *My Judgment*, together with the *Churches*? *What Force of Malignity dwells in their Breasts*? *How often have they been justly Reproved by my self, for these Wicked Additions to God's Word in these Cases*? *For I speak (as the Truth is) that the Judgment of the Priests ought to be Accounted, as when The LORD Himself, Residing, Judgeth*. So far was that *Emperor* at that time from having any  
thoughts

thoughts of such a *Regale* over the Church, as has been set up! He calls it an *Addition* to the *Word of God*. He cou'd find no Ground for it there. He Understood not the fore-mentioned *Texts* in favour of the *Regale*.

As the *Donatists* were the first who set up the *Regale*, and Pleaded for it : So is it shewn in the *Hist. Collect.* That the after *Hereticks* carry'd on the same Cause. The *Eusebians* Appeal'd to *Constantinus*. And as shewn *ibid.* p. 95. That first *Heretical Arian Emperor*, was the First who Assum'd the *Regale*. And by it had well nigh Overthrown the *Christian Faith*. But *St. Athanasius, Hosius*, and Others, did with Great Zeal Oppose and Protest against the *Regale*, saying ; that those who Appeal'd to *Constantinus* in *Ecclesiastical Matters*, did set him up instead of *Christ*. That this made him an *Anti-Christ*. That to make himself a Prince of Bishops, and to Preside in *Ecclesiastical Judicatures*, made him the very same Abomination of Desolation, foretold by *Daniel the Prophet*. *Athanas. Epist ad Solitar* p. 861, 862. Do not (says *Hosius* to him) concern thy self in *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, nor Command us in these Matters : But rather learn those things of . us God hath committed to thee the Empire ; and He hath Intrusted us with those things that belong to the Church.

And



And as he who with Malignant Eyes  
 Reproacheth thy Empire, Opposeth the Di-  
 vine Ordinance: So do thou beware lest  
 drawing to thee those things that belong to  
 the Church, thou becomeest thereby lyable to  
 a great Guilt. It is written, give unto  
 Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and un-  
 to God the things that are God's. It is not  
 Lawful for Us, O Emperor, to hold the  
 Earthly Empire, Neither hast thou the  
 Power of Holy things. Athan. *ibid.* p.  
 639. And that his Usurping this Pow-  
 er over the Church was without Prece-  
 dent. *ibid.* p. 831. He was the first  
 who took it upon him. Other Quota-  
 tions more at Large were Read out of  
 the same place of the *Hist. Collect.* p.  
 96, 97.

Then it was read out of Bishop Bur-  
 ner's *Hist. of the Regale* p. 30. That  
 Constantine did Renounce the Power of  
 Electing Bishops, of which he gives se-  
 veral Instances. That Writing to the  
 Bishops Assembled at Antioch for the E-  
 lection of a Bishop, he leaves the Choice  
 freely to them, desiring them That the E-  
 lection shou'd be Made according to the Rule  
 of the Church, and the Tradition of the Apo-  
 stles. And p. 31. he Names Constan-  
 tins Depriving the Orthodox Bishops,  
 and putting Arian Bishops in their Room  
 by his own Authority. And Quotes  
 Hilary writing to these Court Bishops,  
 put in by the *Regale*, and saying; O ye  
 Bishops

*Bishops, I pray you, What Suffrages did the Apostles make use of? Did they Receive their Dignity from the Palace?*

*This was the beginning of the Regale.*

XII. But then he shews, That it was not  
*Princes* kept up Constantly from that time.  
*who Re-* Tho' some Boisterous Emperors follow'd  
*nounc'd* the Example of *Constantius*, to Enlarge  
*the Regale.* their *Prerogative*. But others wou'd not  
 make use of it. He tells p. 37, 38.  
 how the Emperor *Valentinian*, about  
 the year 347, upon the Death of *Au-*  
*gustinus* Bishop of *Milan*, who was an *A-*  
*rian*, call'd the Bishops together, And  
 desir'd them to Choose such a Bishop as  
 Might, both by his Life and Doctrine,  
 Instruct those whom he was to Govern:  
 And that he might see such a Person set  
 up, to whom he that held the Empire,  
 might Chearfully submit himself. For  
 which he Quotes *Theod. l. 4. c. 6, 7.*

He afterwards gives several Instances  
 of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, who  
 purely out of Conscience, being struck  
 with the Horror of so Great a Wick-  
 edness, threw up the Regale which had  
 Descended to them from their Ance-  
 stors. He says p. 93. That the Emperor  
*John Comnenus*, about the year of Christ  
 1130, did Condemn the Use of the Re-  
 gale,

gale, under very severe Pains. And he Mentions a *Memorable Law* which *Manuel Comnenus* Made against it, A. C. 1150. wherein he calls it a *Wicked Custom*. So here (says the *Bishop*) the *Regale* is most severely *Condemned*, Again p. 97, 98. a Later Instance is given (which was in the 14th Cent.) of *John Cantacuzenus* the *Emperor*, And part of his *Speech* is set down which he Made to the *Bishops*, who were Met for the *Election* of a *Patriarch*, he said, They ought to follow the steps of the *Apostles* and *Fathers*; who being Met together, *Invoked* the *Holy Ghost*, and *Implor'd* the *Grace of God* to Direct them in the *Choise* of One that shou'd Govern the *Church* according to His *Will*. But he acknowledged, that in *Elections* Great *Errors* had been Committed, which Men were Apt to *Excuse*, as they did all their other *Sins* that were Dear to them: For it was Certainly a *Mocking* of *God*, first to resolve who shall be *Patriarch*, and then to Meet, and *Hypocritically* to Pray for the *Divine Direction* or *Assistance*. This he confess'd he had done by himself, and he did not Doubt but his *Predecessors* had been Guilty of it likewise. Wherefore he *Ingenuously* Confessed his *Sin*, and Declar'd, he wou'd be Guilty of it no more.

Then in *France* (which is the Chief Scene of this *History*) we are told p. 190, 191. That when Pope *Lucius* the

the *Second*, to Court the favour of *Lewis the Seventh*, about the year 1148, sent him a Bull with a Priviledge, that in all his Cathedrals he shou'd Dispose of the *first Vacancy*, and Enjoy the *Mean Profits*; he Burnt the Bull with Indignation, and said, *He had rather Burn a Thousand such Grants, than have his Soul tormented in Hell-fire.*

And p. 209. *Alphonfus Count of Tholouse*, did about the year 1138, Not only *Renounce* but *Condemn* the *Regale*, which his Predecessors had Enjoy'd in their Dominions. And calls it, *That Most Wicked Custom of his Ancestors by which they seiz'd violently on the Goods of the Deceased Bishops.* One Branch of the *Regale* was the *Presentation to Bishopricks* and other *Church-Livings*: The other was, the *seizing of the Revenues*, during the *Vacancy*. And this was a *Temptation to keep them Long Vacant.* And Both of these were *Condemn'd* and *Given up*, by these and several other Religious *Princes*, in several Ages, after the *Regale* had Obtain'd. Tho' some of their *Successors* took it up again, as they were otherwise Inclind. But it was Urg'd, That one *Precedent* of a *King* who Recedes from what the *Law* or *Custom* has Made his *Right*, out of *Conscience*, is of More Weight than Many *Precedents* of those who, out of *Interest* and *Politicks*, do Grasp at All, stretch



stretch the *Regale* to the Utmost, and Extend their *Conquests* over the *Church*.

Here on desir'd, That to the Examples of *Princes* who have *Renounc'd* their *Regale*, might be Added the present Constitution of *Sweden*, before-mention'd, where the *Regale* is kept out. And the many *Advantages* thereby Accruing both to *Church* and *State*, in a Perfect *Uniformity* both in *Religion* and *Government*. For the one seldom Remains *Entire*, when the other is *Broken*. As the Example of our own, and Neighbour Nations has too often Inform'd Us. And this *Instance* of *Sweden*, on the other side, ever since the *Reformation*, shews the Truth of this Observation; And what has been the Great Source of our *Civil-Wars* and *Confusions*.

And that *Crown* has had Most Signal Instances of the Favour and Protection of *Heaven*, since that time. So Great, that in the last Age, some thought it was Rais'd up to the Fulfilling of *Prophecies*, and Opening of the *Millennium*.

And the *Deliverance* and *Victory* which God has lately afforded to this present Young, *Magnanimous*, and Most *Religious King*, is the Most Observable of any in this Age. May the *Divine Mercy* continue to *Preserve* him. The Particulars of his *Victory* set forth a *Conduct* and *Bravery* above his Years: But the Air of *Religion* in it Exceeded all the

the Rest. And is a Rare *Example* in this Age. He Receiving the *Holy Sacrament* with his Army, before they Began their Attack against ten times their Number, in their Trenches; And when, after a Miraculous *Victory*, he Enter'd the Tent of the *Czar*, falling down on his Knees, and giving Thanks, and the Glory to God.

Let me give Another Instance of it to our Present Purpose, continu'd this Gentleman; His Father the Late King of *Sweden* had Recommended to him upon his Death-bed, That when the *Arch-Bishop* of *Upsal* (the only *Arch-Bishoprick* in the Kingdom) Dyed (he being then an Old Man) he should endeavour to Procure Dr. *Speggel* Bishop of *Niccopin* (whom he much Esteem'd for his Learning and Piety) to be Promoted to it. Accordingly the young King did use all his Interest for him. But the *Bishops* Chose Dr. *Benzelius* Bishop of *Stragneß*, who is now *Arch-Bishop*. And the King was so far from taking of it ill, that he Excus'd himself, upon Account of his Father's last Directions, for Medling in it at all, as being a Matter within their Province, and not his. Perhaps those *Bishops* were Aware of letting in King's Recommendations. Knowing what a few *Precedents* of that Kind wou'd Amount to. They are a *Temptation*, but no *Respect*

*Respect to a Good King: And if Enjoy'd by him, a Bad King will not give them up.*

However it was Concluded, That bare *Precedents* on Either side, do not Determin the *Right*; without Entring into the *Merits* of the *Cause*; which alone can be a sufficient Ground to Guide our *Conscience*.

And it was Agreed, That this *History of the Regale* was a full Answer to Both the *Books* before-mentioned of Dr. *Hody*, and Dr. *Wake*. Because it shew'd how very little *Stress* is to be laid upon the *Precedents* they bring. And by what *Scandalous* Methods the *Regale* Obtain'd its *Ecclesiastical* Authority. And what were the dismal *Effects* of it. Even the Total overthrow of the *Greek Church*, where it Prevail'd, As the Learned *Bishop* before-mention'd observes, p. 75. The *Emperors* (says he) took the *Nomination* of them (the *Bishops*) into their own hands: And then gave them either to such *Illiterat Monks* as were much esteem'd of for the strictness of their *Lives*; but were *Tools* for any *Designs* on which they set them: Or to such of their *Courriers* or *Soldiers*, that had merited best at their hands. And by these Means were the *Greek Churches* brought to that pass, for *Ignorance* and *Corruption*, that it is no wonder they were given up by God

XIII  
Effects of  
the Regale.

to such Terrible Calamities as were brought upon them, first by the Saracens, and then by the Othoman Family.

And p. 97. he goes on thus, *In Andronicus's Long Reign, Many (Bishops) were put in and out, to the Great Scandal of the Church: Of which the Historian* *Niceph. makes this Remark.* "Princes choose Greg. l. 7: "such Men to their Charge who may  
"be their Slaves, and in all things Ob-  
"sequious to what they shall Prescribe,  
"and may lie at their feet, and not so  
"much as have a thought contrary to  
"their Commands. No wonder (con-  
tinues the Bishop) he broke out into so  
severe a Censure, when many were raised  
to that Dignity that could neither Read  
nor Write. Thus that Learned Author.

I am sorry (said one) That we have to Add to this sad Prospect, The Present Lamentable Condition of the Protestant Interest in Germany, where those Churches did Run Generally into *Erastianism* for Facilitating the Reformation, and to Incline Princes to be on their Side. And they now suffer for it, for the Princes they Depended on are like to be their Ruin. They have either Gone over to Popery, or Given way to it, in their Countries, as best serves their Interest. They took no Care of the Protestant Concerns at *Reswick* but have left them in a much worse Condition, since that Peace than Before. Even to Give the  
French



*French King Cause to Boast, in his Letter to the Arch-Bishop of Paris for Singing Te Deum upon the Peace (which was Printed Here) That the Chief Glory he had in that Peace, was the Advancement of the Catholick Religion, in other Countries, with the Consent of Sovereigns of a Different Persuasion. To whom tho' he Restor'd Many and Great Countries, that had been Protestant before he took them; Yet by the 4th Article of that Treaty it is Expressly Provided, That their Religion shou'd not be Restor'd to them, but Remain as he then left it Established; that is, Popery,*

*And, continu'd this Gentleman, An Eminent Professor told a Friend of mine in Amsterdam, whose Letter he shew'd, That the Protestant Interest there was visibly Declining, because either ther were no Bishops, or Bishops that had no Power, but the whole Clergy in a State of Absolute Subjection, and Entirely Secluded from Interposing, where even their Concerns require it. And Added my Friend (said he) This was much from one Bred here. It was not so Much, ( Answer'd Another) when we Consider, That tho' the Governing-Part in Holland are, what they call Protestant, by Excluding All Dissenters from having any Share in the Government or Bearing Any Places of Publick Trust; Whereby they are Preserv'd in Peace and Quietness: Yet that Much*

the Major Number of the *Subjects* are *Popish*. Which one time or other will Probably cast the *Ballance*. For the General *Inclination* of the *People*, like *Trade*, is Observ'd to *Force* its Way. However, where that is against the *Religion Established*, it cannot be said to be out of *Danger*. And the Encrease of the *Popish* Interest, both *There*, and in *Germany* (I wish I cou'd not add *England*) is by the Opinion of the *Learned* there, to be *Chiefly* Accounted as a *Natural Effect* of the *Regale* that Prevails there.

Now (said one) here are more *Precedents*. And from such *Precedents* Dr. *Hody* and Dr. *Wake* Defend their Cause. And say, That this is sufficient; And that no other Argument is Needful to be Produc'd for it!

XIV. It was then Argu'd on their behalf, Concern- That the Force of their Argument lay  
ing the in the suppos'd Consent of the *Church*,  
suppos'd to all this. For that none then did Op-  
Consent of pose this Power in the *Emperors*. To  
the Church pose this Power in the *Emperors*. To  
to the Re- which it was said,  
yale.

1. What *Opposition* cou'd be Expect-  
ed from such *Bishops* as before Describ'd?  
And the *Emperors* wou'd take Care to  
put in such *Bishops*, as shou'd not Op-  
pose them.

2. That the Body of the *Church* here  
spoke of, being then within the *Empe-  
rors*

rors Dominions; None durst Oppose them, without the Apparent Hazard of their *Lives*, the Power of these Emperors being *Absolute*. And that such a Forc'd Silence will not Argue Consent. But that if this Cause had been brought before a *Free National Church*, out of the Reach of these Emperors; and if the Bishops of such a Church had then Asserted the Regale of those Emperors over the Church, as the Doctrin of the Christian Church, their Testimony had been to the Purpose. And if this had been Universally so Declar'd, Freely and without Compulsion, by the Whole Catholick Church, then cou'd it not have been Deny'd to have been the Doctrin of the Catholick Church.

But it was so far from that, That besides Multitude of Quotations out of Particular Fathers, in all Ages; such as Athanasius, Hosius, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. several Canons were Produc'd, and that of Councils call'd General as well as others, for the Independency of the Church, and against the Regale, particularly as to the Election of Bishops, and the sitting of Synods. For Instance, Can. Apost. c. 30. 31. 1 Counc. Nice. A. D. 325. c. 4. Constant. 2. Gen. Conc. A. D. 380. c. 6. Chalced. 4. Gen. Conc. A. D. 451. c. 9. 2. Nice. 7. Gen. Conc. A. D. 786. c. 3. Constant. 8 Gen. Counc. A. D. 871. c. 22. besides Concil.

*Eliber. A. D. 308. c. 56. Concil. Antioch. A. D. 341. c. 11, 12, 16, 20, Concil. Carthag. A. D. 419. c. 13, 15. 21, 65, 107.* In which, and in several others, *Synods* are appointed to sit frequently for the *Necessities* of the *Church*. It is made *Excommunication* and *Deprivation* to *Appeal* from the *Bishop* to the *King* or any *Secular Power* in *Ecclesiastical Causes*. Or for any *Bishop* to be made, not only by the *King's Command*, but if he make use of the *Interest* or *Recommendation* of *Secular Princes*, or obtain his *Bishoprick* by their *Means*. And that all *Elections* of *Bishop*, *Presbyter* or *Deacon* by the *Secular Magistrat* shall be *Void*. And the *Method* of their *Election* is set down. *viz.* Of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by the *Bishop*. And of the *Bishop* by the *Com-Provincial Bishops*. And that the *Civil Magistrat* shoud, upon some occasions, be *Debarr'd* from coming to the *Church*. Therefor that the *Argument* can never be made *Good* from the *Compliance* or *Silence* of some *Bishops* put in by some *Emperors*, and *Hew'd* down under them, or who turn'd *Sycophants* to them, to *Infer* that this of the *Regale* was the *Constant* and *Universal Doctrin* of the *Catholick Church*. To which the *Direct Contrary* is the *Truth*.

Then



Then ther were *Precedents* shewn a- XV.  
gainst the *Regale*, in the most *Primitive* *Original*,  
times of *Christianity* in *Britain*, as of of the *Re-*  
*S. Oudocus* Bishop of *Landaff*, who *Ex-* *gale in En-*  
*communicated* three of his own *King's*, *gland.*  
after one Another, viz. *Mouricus*, *Mor-*  
*cant*, and *Guidnert*, for several Crimes;  
And put them under severe *Penances*,  
which he oblig'd them to Perform, be-  
fore he Admitted them to the *Peace* and  
*Communion* of the *Church* by *Absolution*.  
This is told in *Sir Hen. Spelman's Hist. of*  
*the English Councils*. Tom. i. p. 62. &c.  
Which Book *Dr. Wake* Quotes in his  
*Authority of Christian Princes*, for La-  
ter Instances which he thought favour'd  
the *Regale*: But takes no Notice at all  
of these and other more *Antient* and  
*Contrary Examples*.

And these are More Considerable,  
because they were about the years of  
*Christ* 560. and 565. among the *British*  
*Bishops*, before *Austin* the *Monk* came  
into *England*: And consequently be-  
fore ther cou'd be the least Umbrage  
that this was any Part of *Popery*.

Then it was shew'd how that after  
this, in times of *Popery*, the *Regale* be-  
gan to Obtain in *England*. That it is  
an Effect of *Popery*, tho', at first sight,  
it seems contrary to it, as being a *Re-*  
*striction* to that *Universal Supremacy*  
which the *Popes* Claim over All *Church-*  
*es*. But (as will be shewn hereafter)

the *Popes* found that they cou'd not Maintain their *Usurpations* over All the other *Bishops* in the World, who wou'd be too Many for them; without the Assistance of the *Kings* of the Earth; with whom therefor they were Content to Divide the Prey, and Bribe them with the Nomination of some *Bishops*; and Disposal of the *Revenues* of some *Churches* during the *Vacancies*; and some *Peculiars* Exempt from the Jurisdiction of the *Bishops*; That the *Kings* might Maintain the *Usurpations* of the *Popes* over all the Rest. Both *Enlarging* their *Powers* upon the *Ruins* of *Episcopacy*.

That *Episcopacy*, thus Grinded to Powder betwixt these *Upper* and *Neither Mill-Stones*, yet did *Struggle* sometimes, and Assert its *Right*. Mr. *Prynne* in his *Records* gives Many Instances, both in *England* and *Ireland* of *Bishops* Chosen by the *Clergy*, without the *King's License*, or his *Recommendation* of the *Person*, which afterwards grew by Custom, as is usual in such Cases, into a *Right* absolutely to Dispose of *Bishops* and *Churches* at their Pleasure, as it is at this Day, tho' under the *Mockery* of a *Conge d'Eslier*, as it is call'd in the *Statute 1 Edw. vi. c. 2.* And therefor is taken away and quite abolish'd by that *Act of Parliament*. And so Continues in *Ireland*, where the *King* disposes

poses of *Bishopricks* Merely by his *Letters Patent*, without any *Conge d'Eslier*, which is still kept up in *England*; tho' to no other Purpose, than to shew the Ancient Right of the Church to Elect her own *Bishops*. And may one day prove a Handle to recover it.

But it was said, That the Present Practice is contrary to our 37th Article, wherein our *Kings* do Renounce any other Power over the Church than such as was Always given to All Godly Princes in *H. Scripture* by God himself. Which was not to have the Election of Priests under the Law, as before is shewn; Much less of the Priests under the Gospel, wherein nothing at all is said of this Power being in *Kings*, but was given into other Hands.

That therefor, if the said Stat. 1 Ed. vi. c. 2. May not be Constru'd of the Temporal Jurisdiction Only which *Bishops* derive from the King, as before has been Explain'd Sect. IX. Then it is superseded by this subsequent Act of Parliament. Which being Made in Explanation of the Former, Obliges Us rather to take the Former in this Sense, than to think them Abrogated by the Later; And so to make our Laws all Consonant, rather than Repugnant to one another. However, That the Later must stand. And cannot be Abrogated by any Contrary Practice: But, on the

the other side, our *Practice* is to be Regulated by the *Laws*. At least, the *Laws* are hereby Justified, tho' our *Practice* shou'd be Contrary.

Now these Instances which Mr. *Prynne* has Collected, of *Bishops* Chosen by the *Clergy* without the *King*, were in the *Popish* times. And he tells Us likewise, That the *Kings* took this ill; And sometimes Proceeded to Punish these *Bishops*, by seizing their *Temporalities*, and making them Compound, &c. However it shews, That the *Bishops* and *Clergy* were then sensible of their Right, and thought that the *King's* Interposing in their *Elections*, by *Nomination* or *Recommendation*, was an *Encroachment* upon the *Charter* of the *Church*.

Ther is another Record I have met with, that is, an *Inscription* now to be seen in the *Parlor* of the *Hospital* at *Ledbury* in *Herefordshire* (which for the *Satisfaction* of the Reader, I have hereunto Annex'd) wherein is told, That *Hugh Foliot*, Bishop of *Hereford*, the Founder of that *Hospital*, was Elected by the *Presbytery* of the *Cathedral Church* of *Hereford* in *October*, *An. Dom. 1219*. Without Letters from the *King*, written to the Prejudice of their free Election (even as it is Testify'd of *Robert Foliot*, to have been Chosen before him in the Year of our Lord 1173.) he liv'd Bishop in the Reign of *King Henry the 3<sup>d</sup>*. &c. Mr.



Mr. Prynne in his *Records*, 2 vol: p. 355. shews, that this same *Hugh Foliot* was *Arch-Deacon* of *Shrewsbury*, and then Recommended by *K. John* to the *Bishoprick* of *St. Davids*. Which, it seems, was Rejected, for his Name stands not in the List of the *Bishops* of *St. Davids*, but is amongst the *Bishops* of *Hereford*. So that he was Refus'd by the *Clergy* of *St. Davids*, to whom he had the *King's* Recommendation: And Chosen by those of *Hereford* without it; which, as before shewn, they thought a *Prejudice* to their *Free Election*.

It was here taken Notice of, That the Form of the *Conge d'Esliers* in those days (as in the *Records* produc'd by Prynne) was not by way of *Command* to the *Clergy*, as now; but of *Request* and *Desire* only. The *King* call'd it his *Petition* to the *Clergy*, And Besought them to lend a *Favourable* and *Benign* Ear to it. *Ut huic Petitioni Mea favorem prabeant benignum*, was the Form then in Use. And shews Plainly where the *Right* of *Election* lay.

And likewise the Force of *Prescriptions*, which, in time, Grow up to create a *Right*, and Construe *Petition* to Mean *Command*.

And the *Recommendations* of Men in *Power* are Commonly so Understood! Which makes every *Petty Corporation*, Jealous of their *Liberties*, seek by all Means to Avoid them: Left they have

as little left them at the last, as that Share of the *Prey* which the *Lion* left to the *Afs*.

But to the Subject in hand, the *Original* of the *Regale* in *England*, it was Concluded,

That before the Coming of *Austin* the *Monk* into *England* from the times of *Popery*, the *Regale* was not known, as by the Instances before mention'd of *St. Oudoceus*, &c. is very Plain.

Therefor that we must Date the *Original* of the *Regale* in *England* from the times of *Popery*. And that it must not pass as a *Novelty* of the *Reformation*: Which did Pretend but to Restore the Antient *Regale*, free from the *Usurpations* of the *Pope*; Who had got an over-Share in the *Division* which He and the *King* had made of the *Episcopal* Power and Authority. But ther was no Restoring to the *Episcopal* on either side. All the Choice left to it was, Who shoud be its *Executioner*.

XVI.  
The Con-  
sequences  
of the  
Principle  
of the *Re-  
gale*.

After this it was said, That the Principle of the *Regale* did carry with it such Consequences as were totally Inconsistent with the Notion of a *Christian Church*. And Involv'd those who hold it in Many Contradictions and Absurdities.

I. Here was call'd to Mind what was before said of the *Topick* set up by  
Cr.

Dr. Hody, &c. to make it *Right* to Comply with *Wrong*: Which was further Improv'd.

One said, That *Right* and *Wrong* were old Opposits. But that these Authors had set up a *Distinction* betwixt *Right* and *Truth*. For in the *Reflex*. (before Quoted) p. 14. they tell us, That *Anastasius* being *In-validly* Depriv'd, was still the *Rightful* Bishop, And yet at the same time his Successor Gregory was True Bishop of the same See. By which they were either Both Bishops of the same See, at the same time, and so that Church had Two Bishops; And then *Anastasius* was not Depriv'd, for he Remain'd Bishop still: Or otherwise, Bishops have no *Right* or *Title* but *Possession*; and then, *Anastasius*, when Depriv'd, tho' *In-validly*, cou'd not be *Rightful* Bishop. Nay, a Bishop cannot be Depriv'd *Invalidly*, if he has no *Right* but *Possession*. For then, *Deprivation*, no Matter how, does his Business. And he has no *Right* to seek to be Restor'd, And his *Cession*, or giving up his *Right* to his Successor, is a *Jest*! Yet Dr. Hody bestows a *Passionate* Exhortation upon our Depriv'd Bishops, to Give up their *Right* (which he does not Dispute) for the *Peace* of the Church. But notwithstanding *Reflex*. p. 24. tells how *Libertinus* Bishop of Rome, when he was Depriv'd, Refus'd to submit to *Felix*, who

was

was put in his Place. And finds no fault with him for this: But Improves it to an Argument for his *Hypothesis*, That though ther was no Cession, yet they that knew Felix to be Orthodox, very freely Recogniz'd him.

And where was the Harm? said one (*Smiling!*) They only Recognized Felix as the True Bishop: But they Acknowledg'd Liberius as still the Rightful Bishop!

But it was thought strange, How a Bishop, when Depriv'd, if Invalidly, shou'd have a Right to Claim the Obedience of his Subjects: And yet that ther shou'd be no Manner of Obligation upon his Subjects to Pay it to him, or so much as to Concern themselves, For what, or By whom he was Depriv'd, whether Justly or Un-justly, whether Validly or In-validly!

Some said, That this did Destroy all Right of Bishops, even when in Possession. For that he who has no Right but Possession, has no Right by his Possession. Mere Possession can never give Right, else all Robbers wou'd have it. But Possession may Continue so Long, till those who have a Better Title are all Extinguished: And then a Right may follow that Possession, when ther are None who claim a Better Right.

It was said, That this was the Case of the High-Priesthood of the Jews under



der the *Romans*, when our *B. Saviour* came into the World. The *Romans*, then their *Conquerors*, had Chang'd the Order of their *High-Priesthood*, made it *Annual* and *Arbitrary*, put out, and put in whom they Pleas'd. As the *Grand Segnior* do's now with the *Patriarchs* of *Constantinople*. And under that *Extreme Servitude*, ther were None who set up their *Claim* against the *H. Priest* or *Patriarch* in *Possession*: But all agreed to *Submit* and *Obe*y them. So that ther was no *Competition*. And if any had a *Better Right*, they were Content to *Wave* it, and *Recognize* the *Right* of the other. Ther were no *Priests* and *Anti-Priests* in *Opposition* to One another. And therefor ther cou'd be no *Schism*.

Hence it was that our *B. Saviour* and his *Apostles* did own the *High Priests* of the *Jews*, for ther were then no other. And the *Greek Churches* under the *Dom*inion of the *Turk* do own the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, for they have none other.

But that this has no *Relation* to the *Case* of *Bishops* and *Anti-Bishops* in the same *Sees*. Of whom, one must be *Right*, and the other *Wrong*; Not, one *Rightful*, and the other *True*! As this *Pleasant Distinction*, without a *Difference*, has *Reconcil'd* them!

These *Difficulties* and *Absurdities* they  
Labour

Labour under, who Dare not Oppose the *Ir-Resistable Regale*: And yet want Courage sufficient to stand by the Necessary Consequences of it!

And yet, said One, see how soundly they Sleep in this their Security! To what Purpose (say they) shou'd we, who were not Concern'd in the Deprivation of the Bishops concern our selves so much about the Question, WHETHER IT BE LAWFUL FOR THE CIVIL MAGISTRAT TO DEPRIVE A BISHOP OR NOT? — Whether it were the Doctrine of the Church that Bishops may be Depriv'd by the Lay-Power for Political Crimes, or not, we are not Oblig'd to Know. 'Tis enough for Us that we know, that this at least was the Doctrine of the Church (and we know it from its Constant and Uniform Practice throughout all Ages) That when once they are Depriv'd (tho' never so Unjustly) and we cannot avoid it; it is Lawful for Peace sake, to own the Possessor. Dr. Hody may Publish, if he please, his VINDICATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CIVIL POWER [ Which he Promis'd so long ago, that he has Forgot it ] for the sake and Satisfaction of those who Concur'd in the Deprivation of the Bishops: But we in the Lower Form, who were not at all Concern'd in the Matter, we want no such Treatise to Justifie our Practice: Our Practice is sufficiently Justified by what he has already written. I will Read

it, if it comes out as a *Matter of SPECULATION*.— At this, the Company held up their Hands! That the *Rights of the Church*, and *Deprivation of her Bishops* shou'd Concern the *Clergy* no more (however *Unjustly*, or even *Invalidly* done) than as a *Matter of Mere Speculation*! Can they see no Consequence in *Allowing such Precedents*? They who *Insist* so much upon *Precedents*! And what is done now will be as good a *Precedent* to after Ages, as some of Former Ages, are to Us. But is our *Case* the Better that it will be a *Precedent*? Or will their *Case* be the Better, who shall have ours for such a *Precedent*? Will it be ever the Better or the Worse for that? But if we give a *Bad Precedent* which may *Mis-lead* After Ages, their Blood, and the Ruin of the *Church* will lie upon our Heads. This is a *Consideration* not to be *Neglected*, or thought an *Indifferent Matter*, of *Mere Speculation*! What wou'd become of the *Church*, if ther were none more concern'd for Her *Rights* than this! Who wou'd stand in the *Gap*!

As to what is said in the above *Quotation* of the *Constant and Uniform Practise* of the *Church*, in this *Case*, it is spoke to before. And for saying, *when we cannot Avoid it*, they shou'd have added, *without some Inconvenience*. For otherwise, They might Chuse whether

ther they wou'd *Concur* in it. At least, whether they shou'd *Write* in Defence of it, and Endeavour to make that look *Right* which they thought to be *Wrong*. But perhaps they thought, That they cou'd not *Avoid* this neither, Without some other *Inconvenience*!

And, said one, Dr. *Hody* knows whether a *Proposal* has not been made, and to Whom, in order to put an end to the Present *Schism*, by the Voluntary *Resignation* of the *Depriv'd Bishops*: On Condition, That the *Bishops* in Possession shou'd own the *Principle* of the *Independency* of the *Church* upon the *Secular Magistrat*, as to her Purely *Spiritual Authority*. Lest, otherwise the *Dep. Bishops* shou'd be look'd upon as *Traditors*; And their *Resignation*, who have stood so long *Confessors* to the *Rights* of the *Church*, shou'd be turn'd to an Argument against it; as if they too had Given up the *Cause*, after all the Debate that has been about it. One wou'd think (said he) That Dr. *Hody* shou'd be concern'd at the *Answer* was made to this, *That it was not Practicable*. That is, I suppose, not now, at this time, because of some *Inconveniences*! Then we see on whose side the *Obstruction* do's not Lie. Dr. *Hody* do's not so much as Pretend to Justifie the *Principle* of *Lay-Deprivation*. And if the *Dep. Bishops* will be Persuaded to Give up



up their *Rights* for *Peace* sake, as he has most earnestly *Exhorted* them, upon what *Easier Terms* wou'd he *Desire* it, than to secure that *Principle* from *Hurt*-ing the *Church* for the *Future*? And will he not then *Bestow* one *Word* of *Advice* upon those who have done the *Wrong*, if any *Wrong* be done to the *Dep. Bishops*, and to the *Church* in them? And he does not *Deny* their *Deprivations* to be not only *Unjust*, but *Invalid*. Now suppose (said Another) That *Dr. Hody's Principle* were *Allow'd*, And that we might safely *Com-*  
*ply* with, *Own* and *Join* in what is *Unjust*, against that which is *Just* and *Right*: Yet that which is *Unjust*, is *Unjust* still, at least in the *Actors*, tho' not in the *Compliers* with it. And ought not such *Actors* to be *Admonish'd* to *Repent* and *Return* from the *Unjustice* they have committed? Or rather, Are they to be *Supported* in it; And our *Rage* spent against those who are not so *Clear-*  
*sighted* as we, to *Comply* with it, without any *Doubt* or *Scruple* at all?

These seem to be *Difficulties* which follow this *Principle* of the *Regale*, in those who would *Preserve* any *Notion* or *Foundation* of a *Church*, as *Consistent* with it. Therefor,

ii. Ther are those who, to make way for it, *Deny* all *Priesthood* in the *Christian Church*. Which, by the

*Apostle's Argument, Heb. vii. 12. In-*  
*fers also of Necessity a Change, or ra-*  
*ther a Disannulling of the Law of that*  
*Church, and of the Church it self which*  
*has no Priesthood. For Church and*  
*Priesthood seem to be Convertible Terms.*  
*Otherwise a Change of the Priesthood*  
*would not have Infer'd, of Necess-*  
*sity, a Change also of the Law of that*  
*Church. And if a Change of the Priest-*  
*hood, Changes the Church, Disannulling*  
*of the Priesthood, Disannulls the Church.*  
 ( Therefor it behoves us to Consider  
 well of that Position, which, to sup-  
 port the *Regale*, is Advanc'd in the *Se-*  
*cond Defence of the Church of England*  
*from Schism, &c, Printed An. 1698. p.*  
*8. Where it is Positively Deny'd,*  
*There are any Priests or Priesthood Now in*  
*the Church of England. (not being A-*  
*ware, That the very Word Priest is*  
*retain'd in our Book of Ordination.)*  
 So that, by this, we Must either Part  
 with our *Priesthood*, or with the *Regale*.  
 They are Made *Inconsistent*. And the  
 Reason is, Because, otherwise the *Re-*  
*gale* cannot be Advanc'd above the *Priest-*  
*hood*. But ther are Greater *Straits* than  
 these to which this *Principle* of the *Re-*  
*gale* do's Reduce its *Clients*.

III. Dr. *Wake* cannot stop the Cur-  
 rent of the *Regale* short of Matters of  
*Faith*: Which, as well as *Discipline*, he  
 brings

brings Under it. For in his *Authority of Christian Princes*, p. 75. Speaking of the Extent. of the Power of the Prince he says it Reaches, *Not only in Matters of Discipline, but in Matters of Faith too.* And that the Prince may Confirm, or Rescind the Decisions of a Synod, as he Pleases, even in Matters of Faith. And this he Proves, p. 138 by the Example of *Hen. viii.* in his Modelling the *Articles*, which, says the Dr. *Relate to Doctrins of Faith, and that in the most Necessary Points of it.* And yet see what Liberty the King took, in Judging, as well as Correcting of what they (the Synod) had done. And p. 335. He makes the Law the Standard of Heresie. And says, *There is no such mighty Danger in this, Unless for those, who wou'd make more to be Heresie than the Law Declar'd so to be.* And if that be the Danger, I believe all Wise and Charitable Men will desire, that they may be always Liable to it. And p. 125, 126. he says, That the King may Suspend or Annul the Sentence of Heresie (for that is the Subject treated of from p. 116.) pass'd against any Person by the Church.

But he comes Round about again, and overturns every Stone that he had Laid. For putting an *Objection* he knew cou'd not be mist, ther were so

many Instances of it, he Repeats it in these Words, p. 43. *That Princes may Abuse this Power to the Detriment of the Church.* And Answers, *That whenever the Civil Magistrat shall so far Abuse his Authority, as to Render it Necessary for the Clergy, by some Extraordinary Methods, to Provide for the Churches Welfare, that Necessity will Warrant their taking of them.*

1. This makes the Clergy Judge of the Necessity. And then they may take to these Methods when they see Cause.

2. No Necessity can Create any Authority; Tho' it may Excuse sometimes the Exercise of an Authority in an Extraordinary Manner, which wou'd not be Justifiable, but upon the Account of such Necessity. Therefor it follows, That the Clergy have such an Authority (against which he Disputes) Independent of the State: And a Right to Execute it, whenever they think fit.

3. If Christ left no more Authority with his Church than he thought Necessary for the Carrying on of those Ends, for which he did Institute a Church: Then a Less Authority will not be Sufficient for those Ends. Upon this it was Queried, Whether the Church cou'd give up any Part of her Authority? And is not Oblig'd to Resume it? Otherwise it was said, That She Disables her self from the Effectual Discharge



charge of her Duty, as to those Ends for which she was Instituted : And how then shall she give an Account to the *Great Shepherd* who Invested her with such *Authority*, for those Ends ?

And this was Urg'd from the Example of *Civil Government*, which it is *Necessary* shou'd be *Absolute* and *Uncontroulable* ; as the *Supreme Power* is in all *Governments*, wherever it is Lodg'd, whether in *One*, or in *Many*. And therefor no *Government* can do any *Act* to *Limit* it self. The *Supreme Legislative Power* cannot Make it self not to be *Absolute*. If it could, it must *Dissolve* it self, and cease to be *Supreme* ; for, whatever is *Limited* cannot be *Supreme* : Therefor it is a *Maxim* in our *Law*, *Suprema Potestas seipsam Dissolvere potest ; Ligare non Potest*. That the *Supreme Power* may *Dissolve* it self ; but cannot *Limit* it self. And the Reason is Plain, because all *Limitation* comes from a *Superior* ; It must be a *Superior Power* that can *Limit* Another.

Therefor the *Limitation* here spoke of do's not Extend to *Oaths*, or other *Obligations* to *God*, such as the *King's Coronation-Oath*, &c. For an *Oath* is a *Promise* made to *God*. And *God* is our *Superior*, *Superior* to *Kings*. And He is also the *Guarantee* and *Avenger* of all *Breach* of *Faith* and *Injustice*. But the *Limitation* here spoke of, is as to *Man*.

And if the *King* should give to Any a *Coercive Power* over him, upon any Account whatsoever; he would, *ipso facto*, Cease to be *King*, and become *Subject* to such, and that upon all Accounts whatsoever; because whoever has a *Power*, is *Judge* when and how to make use of it. And this could not be call'd such a *King's Limiting* of his own *Power*; but it is a *Dissolving* it, and *Transferring* it to Another. It makes that other to be *Supreme*, and him that was *King* before to be *Subject*. For ther is no *Medium* betwixt *Supremacy* and *Subjection*. Every Man must be *One* or *other*. And this makes it *Necessary*, that every *Supreme Power* must be *Absolute*.

Upon this it was mov'd, whether the *Church* by *Limiting* her *Authority*, or suffering it to be *Limited* by the *State*, had not *Dissolv'd* her self, and given up her *Charter*? To which it was said,

I. That ther is a Difference betwixt *Limiting* ones self, and being *Limited* by Another. And again betwixt submitting *Freely*, and per *Force*. That the Latter is the Case of the *Church*. It was the *Premunire* that squeez'd out the *Submission* of the *Clergy*, 25 H. viii. c. 19. *Et sic de Cateris*.

II. When any *Constitution* of *Civil Government* *Dissolves* it self, another  
immedi-

Immediately Succeeds; as if a *Monarchy* be turn'd into a *Commonwealth*, or a *Commonwealth* into a *Monarchy*: And consequently *That* which was *Dissolv'd*, is no More. But we cannot say that the *Church* is no more. Ther is still a *Church*, tho' in *Servitude*. And nothing *Succeeds* to it. If it were *Dissolv'd*, ther wou'd be no *Church*: But nothing wou'd come in its Room, unless you will say a *Privation*, that is the *Want* of a *Church*.

That therefor, Since no *Power* can *Limit* it self: And that the *Church* is not *Dissolv'd*: The Consequence must turn, That she is not *Limited* by any thing that she has done, past the Power of her Re-Calling, More than a *Parliament* is by any Preceding *Act* of *Parliament*, which it may *Alter* or *Rescind* at its Pleasure, as is done Every Day.

III. The *Church* is a *Society* spread over the Earth. And therefor cannot be *Dissolv'd* in any one *Kingdom* or *State*. Nor can the *Concession* of any *National Church* Oblige the *Church Catholick*. No nor Oblige that *National Church* herself, otherwise than according to the *Rules* of the *Catholick Church*. More than a *Committee* of the House of *Lords* or *Commons* can Oblige the Whole *House*: Or Govern *Themselves* by any other *Rules* than those which are *Prescrib'd* by the *House*. From

From hence was Argu'd the *Impossibility* and *Contradiction*, That any *Kingdom* or *State* shou'd have Authority over the *Church* within their *Dominions*, in *Ecclesiastical* Matters: Because, at that Rate, the *Church* would be broke to Pieces. One sort of *Church* set up in one *Kingdom*, and Another, in Another. And *Churches* must go to *War*, as oft as *Kingdoms*. Nothing would Remain *Uniform* in the *Church*, either as to *Church-Government*, *Doctrin*, or *Worship*. And the *Church* of *Christ*, and all the *Holy Institutions* of His *Religion* must become Subservient to *Worldly Politicks*, and made to Answer every *Turn* of *State*,

And it was said, That the Plain Consequence of this must be to Root up all *Religion* from off the Face of the Earth. For that no *King* or *State* can believe any *Religion* that *Depends* upon their *Authority*. Because then they must know that the *Original* of it is not *Divine*. At least, they can never Believe *Christianity*, which onely is a *Reveal'd Religion*, and therefor must Come Directly from *Heaven*.

And that if they Believe *Christ* did *Institute* a *Church* upon Earth, and gave Her any *Commission*; they must Believe such *Commission* to be *Divine*: Which they cannot Believe, if they think it in their Power to *Limit* it, at their Pleasure, and to make it *Dependent* upon them



them. They cannot think that *Christ* gave any such *Spiritual-Commission*, unless they believe it to be *Superior* to them in *Spirituals*. More than any *Subject* could believe, That *God* had given to *Kings* a *Temporal Commission*, and yet not think the *King* to be *Superior* to him in *Temporals*.

Here an Observation was made to Explain what seems a Mystery to many People in *England*, That notwithstanding the *Deposing Doctrin* is taught at *Rome*, and has been Practis'd by their *Popes* even in *England*, as well before as since the *Reformation*; And could never yet be brought to *Disown* it: Yet it should prove so hard a Task as we have found it, to keep our *Kings* from running over to *Popery*.

And the Reason was given, Because they could not believe that *Church* to have any *Divine Commission*, and consequently to be a *Church* which had Laid her self so Low under their Feet, with Respect to Her *Spiritual Commission*. That therefor they had rather submit themselves, tho' with the Hazard of their *Crowns*, to a *Foreign Bishop*, who Asserted a *Superiority* over them both in *Spirituals* and *Temporals*; than to have no *Bishop* at all to be subject unto, even in *Spirituals*, which is indeed to be Quite out of the *Church*.

That

That surely they would not have Chosen this Desperat Remedy, if they could have found *Bishops* in their own Dominions, who, tho' *Subject* to them in *Temporals*, even to *Death*: Yet would not have submitted their *Spiritual* Commission, Derived from *Christ* alone.

That *Kings* would have believ'd such *Bishops* to be what they call them, Their *Fathers* in *God*. And *K. Char. II.* would not have had Reason for that sharp *Sarcasm*, when, upon Discourse of the Comparison betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*, he said, *The One seem'd to be in Earnest, the Other in Jest.*

And it is not one of the Least *Evil-Consequences* of this Principle of the *Regale*, That it does beget a *Secular Spirit* in the *Clergy*: Those of them who are Possess'd with it, look no farther than to the Place whence their *Preferments* come; And to which they are *Accountable*, even for the *Administration* of their *Spiritual* Office. And that whereon they so Absolutely Depend, they come, in time, to think the *Original* and *Fountain* of their *Power*; And that they are oblig'd to Defend it, as Such. This makes them turn *Courtiers*, those at least, who have a Mind to Rise; And to Acquaint themselves with all the Pretty *Arts* there, of *Insinuation*, *Flattery*, and *Address*. This soon Eats out the

the *Evangelical Spirit of Christian Simplicity*, the *παρρησία*, the *Open and Fearless*, but *Modest Zeal and Courage* in Asserting the *Truths of the Gospel*, against all *Opposition*; which first *Planted the Church of Christ*, and must *Always Support Her*. This, and the *Court-Air*, are two *Elements*. And tho' some are so *Happy*, as to *Live well in Both*. That is not *Common*. And the *Evangelical Spirit* must be very *Deeply Rooted*, if the *Secular* do not get the *Ascendant* over it, where the *Chief Administration*, and *Dernier Resort* of all *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, is in the hands of the *Secular Magistrat*.

From the *Kings Supremacy*, our Discourse turn'd naturally to the *Popes Supremacy*. And it was said, That the Pope's stretching his *Supremacy* so *Universally and Absolutely* as he had done, was the *Great Cause of Schism* in the *Western Church*.

XVII.  
Of the  
Popes Supremacy.

For that he, not being *Content* with that *Primacy*, which by the *Constitution* of the *Western Church*, had been *Fixed* to his *See*, for the *Better and more Easie Regulation* and *Carrying on* the *Commerce and Correspondence*, and *Managing* the *Jurisdiction* of the *Episcopal College*, And which was *Granted* to him only *Jure Ecclesiastico*: Did set up for an *Universal and Un-limited SUPREMACY*, And that

that *Jure Divino*, over all his Collegues, the Bishops of the whole *Catholick Church*. Making all their Authority depend upon him Alone: And thereby Resolving the Power of the whole *Episcopal College* to the single *See of Rome*. That this is one of the *New Doctrins* of *Rome*. It was not known there in the Days of *Gregory the Great* Bishop of *Rome*, who Dy'd in the *Seventh Century*. Then it first began to be set up by *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, when the Seat of the *Empire* was Translated thither. And *Gregory the Great* Wrote severely against it. He calls it, a *Novel Doctrin*, which had Never been known at *Rome*, or Pretended to by Any of her Bishops. That it was against the Doctrin of the *Gospel*, against the Decrees of the *Canons*, against the Rights of all other Bishops, and of all Churches. A horrible Injury and Scandal to the whole *Universal Church*. That the Bishops were the Stars of God, and whoever sought to Advance his Throne above them, did in that Imitat the Pride of *Lucifer*, and was the fore-runner of *Anti-Christ*. Whose times he said he then saw Approaching, by this Most Wicked and Tyrannical Usurpation of one Bishop above all the Rest of his Collegues, and to Stile himself Patriarch of Almost the whole *Oecumenial Church*. *Se penè per Orbem universum* *ὁμολογῶν* *Pa-*  
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*triarcham Nominaret.* But if Gregory had Return'd to Earth some Years after his Death, he had seen that Arrogant stile taken up by his own Successors the Bishops of Rome, without a Penè or Almost, and to have made themselves Patriarchs of the Whole Oecumenical Church without Exception. And Gregory do's not only thus severely Inveigh against this Usurpation, but gives Excellent Reasons against it. He says. *Si Unus Episcopus vocatur Universalis, Universa Ecclesia corrui, si Unus Universus Cadit.* i. e. That if One Bishop be call'd Universal, the Universal Church falls, if that Universal Bishop falls: But says he, *Ab-sit à Cordibus Christianorum Nomen istud Blasphemiae, in quo Omnium Sacerdotum Honor adimitur, dum ab Uno sibi Dementur Arrogatur.* i. e. But let that Blasphemous Name be Abhorrent to the Hearts of all Christians, by which the Honour of all Bishops is taken away, while it is Madly Arrogated by One to himself. Here that is call'd Blasphemy and Madness, which is Now Made the Plenitude of the Apostolical Authority! These, and Much More to the same Purpose, is to be seen in Gregory's Book of *Epistles.* Lib. iv. Ep. 32, 33, 34, 36, 38. L. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 39. L. viii. Ep. 30. L. xi. Ep. 45. And several others.

Let me here, as a further Strengthening of this Authority of St. Gregory, give

you the only *Salvo* which the Church of Rome can find against it, which is, This Supposition, That the Claim which *John* of Constantinople did set up, and consequently which was all that *St. Gregory* did Oppose, was, Not to be Chief or Universal Bishop, but to be the Only Bishop in the Whole World, and that ther shou'd be no other Bishop but himself.

This we are told in the Latest *Apolo-  
gy*, upon this Head, that I know of, which has come from that side, Intituled *The Prodigal returned Home*, Printed An. 1684. for our Instruction; There p. 289. is set down a Quotation out of *St. Gregory*, as an *Objection* of the Protestants, where he says, *That tho' St. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, yet he was not called Universal Apostle.* To which the Answer is, *As if ther were no other Apostle but He.* And the Application is, That the Pope of Rome did not so Pretend to be Universal Bishop, as if ther were no Other Bishop but himself: Which they Suppose *John* of Constantinople did: And fortify it with these words of *St. Gregory*, in the same Book, Epist. 34. *Triste tamen valde est ut parienter feratur, quatenus Respectis Omnibus pradietus frater & Co-Episcopus Meus, Solus Conetur appellari Episcopus.* i. e. It is too Grievous to be born, that our foresaid Brother and Fellow-Bishop  
Despi-

*Despising all others, shou'd Attempt that  
be Alone shou'd be Called Bishop.*

Here is *Playing* upon an *Expression* against Plain Matter of *Fact*. For, as before Quoted, St. *Gregory* did Accuse him only for Making himself *Patriarch* of *Almost* the whole *Oecumenical Church*. So that

1. In this *Almost* ther are other *Bishops* Excepted, over whom he did not Extend his *Supremacy*, as the *After-Bishops* of *Rome* have done.

2. The Notion of a *Patriarch*, is, To *Preside* over the other *Bishops* within his *Patriarchat*, so that this Supposes other *Bishops* besides the *Patriarch*.

3. *John* did never Deny *Gregory* to be *Bishop* of *Rome*, but Contended with him for the *Supremacy*.

4. *Gregory*, in several places of his *Epistles*, gives *John* the Character of a *Learned* and *Pious* Man, bating his *Ambition* in this Point. Do's he then Charge him with such *Gross Ignorance* as not to know ther were *Twelve Apostles*! To think that ther was ne'r Another *Apostle* but only St. *Peter*! Was that all the Meaning of his Argument, that *Peter* was not call'd *Universal Apostle*!

Or was it not Plainly, That tho' *Peter* was the *First*, or *Chief* *Apostle*, and so the *Prime* or *Prince* of them; Yet this Gave him not a *Jurisdiction* over them *All*, so as to be Call'd the *U-*

*niversal Apostle*, and all the others Entirely Subject to Him? And this was a Strong Argument against the Pretensions of *John*, who sought to be Esteem'd the *Universal Bishop* over All the other *Bishops* in the World, *Almost*.

5. *St. Gregory* calls the *Bishops* the *Stars* of *God*, and Accuses *John*, for Seeking, like *Lucifer*, to *Exalt* his *Throne* Above them All. But how *Above* them, if he wou'd have *None* but Himself! When things are taken Quite away, they are Neither *Above* nor *Below*.

And now as to the *Expression*, upon which this Poor *Cavil* is founded. That he *Only* shou'd be Esteem'd *Bishop*. How Common is it, in ordinary Conversation? If a Man set himself up for *Dictator* in a Company, and to *Rule* the whole *Discourse*, it is said, That he wou'd make himself the *Only* Man in the Company. So in a *Committee*, if one shou'd take upon him to *Over-Rule* all the Rest. In *Justices* upon the *Bench*, &c. where tho' one be *Chief-Justice*, he is not the *Onely* Justice. When the *Prophet* said, *Wo to them that Join House to House, that lay Field to Field, till ther be no Place, that they may be Placed ALONE in the Midst of the Earth.* *Isai. v. 8.* Did he mean that such a *Covetous-Man*, who cou'd put no Bounds to his *Avarice* or *Ambition*, Design'd ther shou'd bene'r



Man left in the World but Himself;  
And, in that Sense, to be left *Alone* in  
the Earth? Or was it, That he Desir'd  
to bring All others under him, and to  
Depend upon him?

When the *Duke* of *York* was call'd  
*The Duke*, was the Meaning, That ther  
was not Another *Duke* in the Kingdom:  
Or was it onely by way of *Eminence*,  
that ther was not Another of like *Qual-  
ity* as He? Is not that the Meaning of  
the *Pope* now writing himself *Episcopus*,  
without any *Limitation*? Do's he Mean,  
That ther is no other *Bishop* in the  
World but Himself? How comes he  
to Appropriat the Stile of *Apostolical*  
to the *See* of *Rome*? Did they make  
no other *Bishop*? Behold then, even  
Literally, the *Ambition* of *John* of *Con-  
stantinople*! This is what he wou'd  
have been at! That he *Alone* might  
have the Stile of *Episcopus*, and his *See*  
of *Apostolick*; that is, by way onely of  
*Eminence*, as if ther were no such *Bi-  
shop* as He the *Universal* one.

Ther is Nothing now left to the *Church*  
of *Rome*, but to give us up *St. Gregory*  
too, among the *Protestant Popes*, before  
ther was any *Popery* in the World!

And we may lay Good *Claim* to  
others of them, after that time,  
before *Popes* had Arriv'd at their  
full *Height*. I will Instance, at this

time, but in One, tho' he Names several Others, that is *Aeneas Sylvius*. It is indeed in what he wrote before he was Pope. And tho' afterwards he Assum'd the Grandure of the then Papal-Strain, as Men that take Great Places, Must Accept of the Stile with them. Yet he then onely Asserted, whereas before he Prov'd. And he neither Recanted or took upon him to Answer his own Arguments, and the Authorities which he had Brought against the then Exorbitant Pretensions of the Papacy.

He Ascended the Pontifical Throne, by the Name of *Pius the Second*, in the Year 1458. And in his *De Gest. Concil. Basil l. i. Edit. Basil. 1551. p. 11, 12.* he says, *Opinio omnium Mortuorum est, si opinio vacari debet, qua idoneis confirmatur Autoribus, quia Ro. Pontifex Universali Ecclesiae subjectus existit, neque hoc viventes Negare. Audent Illud autem apud aliquos revocatur in dubium, an id quoque de Generali Concilio credi oporteat sunt enim aliqui, sive avidi Gloria, sive quod Adulando Premia expectant, qui peregrinas quasdam, & omnino Novas predicare Doctrinas caperunt, ipsumque summum Pontificem ex Jurisdictione sacri Concilii demere non verentur. Excacavit namque illos Ambitio, a qua non solum hoc Modernum, sed omnia usque ad hanc diem Schismata, suborta reperiuntur — Hodiernam Heresim illi precipue Nutriunt,*  
quos

quos jam Mendicare Suppudet, quorum alius clamat, subditorum facta judicari a Papa, Romanum vero Pontificem solius Dei reservari Arbitrio. Alius dicit, quia Primam sedem nemo Judicabit, quod neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni Clero, neque a Regibus, neque a Populo valeat Judicari — Nec Considerant Miseri, quia qui predicant tantopere verba, aut summorum Pontificum sunt, suas fimbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis Adulabantur. Et quia hujusmodi dicta solutionem habent, recurrunt statim ad Evangelium, & verba Christi non prout Spiritus Sancti sensus exposcit, sed suoapte Ingenio interpretantur. Plurimumque illud extollunt, quia Petro sit dictum, Tu vocaberis Caphas, per quod illum Caput Ecclesie faciunt: Tibi dabo Claves Regni Caelorum: Et, Quodcunque Ligaveris Super terram: Et, Rogavi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: Et, Pasce oves Meas: Et, Duc in altum rete: Et, Noli timere, jam ex hoc eris homines capiens: Quodque soli Petro, tanquam Apostolorum Principi, Christus Mandaverit, pro se & pro illo staterem dare: Et, Quia Petrus traxit ad terram Rete plenum piscibus Magnis: Et, Quod solus Petrus ad Christi defensionem gladium evaginavit. Quae Omnia hi homines Miro modo sublimant, expositionibus, Sanctorum Doctorum omnino post habitis. Which, for the sake of the Common Reader is thus in English. "It is the Opinion of All

" that are Dead, if that can be Call'd  
 " an Opinion, which is fortify'd with  
 " sufficient Authorities, That the Pope  
 " of Rome is Subject to the Universal  
 " Church; neither Dare those Living  
 " Deny it. But it is made a Doubt a-  
 " mong some, whether he be Subject also  
 " to a General Council? For there are some  
 " whether out of Singularity, or that they  
 " expect the Rewards of their Flattery,  
 " have begun to spread New and Strange  
 " Doctrins, and are not Afraid to Exempt  
 " the Pope from the Jurisdiction of the  
 " Holy Council, For Ambition has blind-  
 " ed them, from whence not only this  
 " Modern, but All Schisms to this Day  
 " have Arisen — This Modern He-  
 " resse is Chiefly supported by a Com-  
 " pany of Beggarly Expectants, of  
 " whom one crys, That the Actions of  
 " Subjects are to be Judg'd by the Pope,  
 " but He, by God alone. Another  
 " says, That the Chief Seat is to be  
 " Judg'd by None, neither by All the  
 " Clergy, nor Kings, nor People —  
 " These Wretched Men do not Consi-  
 " der, That these things they say, are  
 " but the Words either of Popes, who  
 " wou'd Extend their Power, or of  
 " their Flatterers. And because such  
 " Sayings are easily Answered, they  
 " straight Run to the Gospel, and Inter-  
 " pret the Words of Christ, not accor-  
 " ding to the Meaning of the Holy Ghost,  
 " but of their own Brains. And they  
 " make



“ make much of that which was said to  
 “ Peter, *Thou shalt be call'd Caphas*, by  
 “ which they make him Head of the  
 “ Church: *To thee I will give the Keys*  
 “ *of the Kingdom of Heaven: And,*  
 “ *Whatsoever thou Bindest upon Earth:*  
 “ *And, I have Pray'd for thee, Peter,*  
 “ *that thy Faith fail not: And, Fear*  
 “ *not, thou shalt henceforth Catch Men:*  
 “ *And that Christ commanded Peter a-*  
 “ *lone, as Prince of the Apostles, to*  
 “ *pay Tribute for Himself and for him:*  
 “ *And because Peter drew the Net to*  
 “ *Shore full of Great Fishes: And, That*  
 “ *Peter alone Drew his Sword in Defence*  
 “ *of Christ. All which things these*  
 “ *Men, after a Strange Manner, do*  
 “ *Refine upon, wholly Neglecting the*  
 “ *Expositions of the Holy Doctors.*”

And he solves these *Texts* in the same  
 Manner as the *Protestants* have done:  
 shewing that, tho' spoke to *Peter*, they  
 were Meant not to him *Personally*,  
 but to the *Church*; And that by that  
 Text *Dic Ecclesia*, *Peter* himself was  
 made subject to the Censures of the  
 Church, and all his Successors, to which  
 if they Refus'd to submit, they were to  
 be Reputed as *Heathens*, and *Publicans*.

And he Quotes *Gregory* the Great, and  
 Pope *Nicholas*, &c. for the same. And  
 says of those who wou'd set up the  
 Popes Authority above all, p. 14. *Qui*  
*dum Unius hominis Libidinem sustinere*

Conantur, dumque privatum bonum Communi antevertunt, incredibile est, quantas Errorum Nebulas excitent. i. e. Who, while they endeavour to support the Ambition of one Man, while they Prefer the Privat to the Publick Good, it is Incredible what Clouds of Errors they have Rais'd And Quotes Pope Zosimus, saying, *Contra statuta Patrum condere aliquid, vel Mutare nec hujus quidem Sedis potest Autoritas.* i. e. The Authority even of this See (of Rome) cannot establish or change any thing against the Decrees of the Fathers. And Pope Damasus Making it Blasphemare Spiritum Sanctum, To Blaspheme the Holy Ghost. And supports this by the Authority of St. Ambrose manifestly Reproving those, *Qui summum Pontificem Concilii Principem dicunt.* Who call the Pope the Prince or Head of the Council.

And of St. Augustin, who says, That Appeals may be made from the Popes to the Church; and their Decrees revers'd. And after several other Authorities, and Instancing the Church Contending with Peter, Act. xi. and Paul resisting him to the Face. Gal. ii. he Concludes with these words of Marcian the Emperor, *Vere Impius atque Sacrilegus est, qui post Sacerdotum Sententiam, Opinioni suae aliquid Retractandum relinquit* Extreme quippe Dementia est, in Meridie & perspicuo Die Commentitium Lumen querere:

vere : *Quisquis enim post veritatem repertam aliquid alterius Discutit, Mendacium querit.* i. e. He is Impious and Sacrilegious, who will Oppose his Judgment to the Determination of the Priests. For it is Extreme Madneß, in the Clear Noon Day, to seek for a False Feigned light : For he who after the Truth found out, will yet still search further, seeketh a Lye.

Then he goes on p. 15, 16. To shew that the Pope may be Depos'd. And having Answer'd those Texts, *Tibi dabo Claves, Pasce oves*, &c. according to the Doctrin of the Primitive Fathers, particularly St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, whose words he Quotes, that they did belong to the other Apostles, and the succeeding Bishops of the Church, as well as to St. Peter : And then coming to Answer the Objection : That the Pope was Head of the Church ; And that the Head must not be put off, for whatever Disease, because it Inferred the Death of the Body : He Denys the Pope to be Head of the Church, unless you will say Ministerially, that is, to Serve and Assist the Body, under the Head, which is Christ alone. And he Asserts it, as without all Doubt, That the Pope is more truly the Vicar of the Church, than of Christ. And therefore, That as a Lord may, at his Pleasure, Depose his Vicar, so the Church may the Pope. *Quia cum sit Papa vicarius*  
Ec-

*Ecclesia, nemo dubitat quin Dominus vicarios suos possit ad Nutum suum destituere: Nec dubium est, verius dici Papam, Ecclesie vicarium, quam Christi. And before he says, Quicquid tamen dicant aliqui ego cum illis non sentio, qui Romanum Pontificem Caput Ecclesie dicunt, nisi forsitan Ministeriale, legimus enim, Quia Christus est Ecclesie Caput non Papa— Ecclesia vero ipsius Christi Corpus, cujus etiam ipse Papa est Membrum. Therefor that he may be cut off, and Depos'd if Inutile, or Scandalous, nec, ut aliqui Delirant, propter solam Heresim.*

i. e. ' For seeing the Pope is Vicar of ' the Church, none doubts but a Lord ' may, at his Pleasure, turn off his Vicars: Nor is it a Doubt to say, That ' the Pope is more truly the Vicar of ' the Church, than of Christ. And ' whatever some Men do say, I cannot ' Agree with those who call the Pope ' the Head of the Church; Unless, perhaps a Ministerial Head; for we Read ' that Christ is Head of the Church, ' and not the Pope— For the Church is ' the Body of Christ Himself, of which ' the Pope himself is but a Member.

Then he tells, p. 17, 18. what is Meant by the Church, viz. The whole Body of Believers, both Pastors, and People. But that the Authority and Governing Part lay only in the Pastors, who therefor are call'd the Church Virtually



tually, as Including the Whole. Let me make a Comparison familiar to Us, it is as the *House of Commons*, are call- ed the *Commons of England*, and their Acts, the Acts of all the *Commons of England*. This he shews, first, as it was under the *Law*, where *Deut. xvii.* the *Priests* were to be the *Judges* of the *People*. And that the same was the State under the *Gospel*, as shewn *Mat. xxiii.* 1, 2. the *Jewish Church* being a Type of the *Christian*. And that *Christ* compares the *Apostles*, and in them the *Clergy*, to *Fishers*, and the *People* to the *Fish*. He calls the *Clergy* likewise the *Husband-Men* and *Labourers* in the *Vine- Yard*, which was the *Church*. And says, *He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.* And, *Go Teach all Nations.* And, *What- soever ye Bind on Earth, &c.* And, *To thee I will give the Keys, &c.* which, as *St. Augustin* says, upon the place ; *Per illa Verba datam esse Judiciariam potesta- tem, non solum Petro, sed toti Ecclesie in Episcopis & Presbyteris ; i. e. By these words ther is Judicial Power given, not only to Peter, but to the Whole Church, in the Bishops and the Presbyters.* And, as *Aneas Sylvius* goes on ; *Sciendum est enim (ut Clemens asserit in Epistola su- pradiſſa) Episcopos Vicem Apostolorum gerere, & reliquorum Discipulorum vicem tenere Presbyteros : sic enim predicasse Pe- trum, qui a Domino didicisse, ait : Unde*  
*Apparet*

*Apparet Ecclesie potestatem omnimodam in Sacerdotibus consistere. i. e. For we must know (as Clemens says in his Epistle before Quoted) That the Bishops are in the Place of the Apostles, and the Presbyters of the other Disciples: For so he says Peter did Teach, who Learn'd it from the Lord. Whence it Appears that All the Power of the CHURCH is Lodg'd in the PRIESTS. And having thus Resolv'd the Power of the Church Universal into the Bishops and Clergy, he makes the Conclusion, Dicimus ergo Universali Ecclesie, qua omnes Christi fideles amplectitur, Potestatem omnimodam fore concessam, Romanumque Pontificem illi subjectum, posse per ipsam, non bene Regentem, Deponi, Abjici, Excommunicari. Rursus adjicimus, quia quacunque illa Universalis Ecclesia potest, hac etiam Clericorum potest & in hac Potestatis Suprema exercitium inveniri: i. e. Therefor we say, That all Power is given to the Universal Church, which Contains all the Faithful of Christ; And that the Pope of Rome is Subject to Her, and, if he Govern not well, may be Depos'd by Her, Thrown off, and Excommunicated. And we further say, That whatever that Universal Church can do, the Clergy may do, and that in them the Exercise of the Supreme Power is to be found. Here the Pope is Intirely submitted to the College of Bishops. And tho' he may be President, for order sake,*

sake, when they are Assembl'd in *Council*, yet he is Deny'd to be *Prince* of the *Council*, to have Power to *Dissolve*, or *Prorogue* them, without their own Consent: And that they may call themselves without him, if he Consent not, as is Asserted in the same place. p. 19. 20. And if he separat himself from them, he thereby separates himself from the *Unity* of the *Church*, and makes himself a *Schismatick*. He is here Deny'd to be *Head* of the *Church*, or *Vicar* of *Christ* but rather *Vicar* and *Servant* to the *Church*, that is, to the *Episcopal College*. And to set Him above them, is call'd *Wickedness* and *Sacrilege*, and *Blasphemy*, against the *Holy Ghost*: And the Root both of *Ancient* and *Modern Schisms*. And this from the Mouths of several *Popes* themselves, as well as in other *Antient* and *Godly Fathers*. And this not only Asserted, but put in Practice by the *Councils* of *Constance* and *Basil*, who Depos'd several *Popes*, as other *Councils* had done. And these *Councils* are vindicated, and Re-Asserted in the *Decrees* of the *Gallican Clergy* An. 1682. Then he shews that the *Popes* of *Rome* were Prohibited by the *Councils* of *Africa* from Receiving any *Appeals* from their *Synods*. Which totally overthrows the Pretence of the *Popes* Universal *Supremacy*. As he says, p. 15. *Ex Conciliis etiam Aphricanis prohibiti sunt Romani Pontifices, ne Appellationes illorum Audi-*

*Audirent, qui a Synodo Appellabant. i. e.* The Popes of Rome were Prohibited by the African Councils from hearing the Appeals of those who Appeal'd to them from the Synod. That is, from the African Synod: Which Made the Church of Africa, as Free and Independent as that of Rome: And consequently, Every other National Church. Tho' Rome was then More Eminent, as one Nation is More than Another. Yet Independent.

From this Super-Eminence or Supremacy of Rome it was that those Great Appellations were given to her of Plenitude of Power, and being Chief of Bishops, &c, of which this same Pope gives this Account, p. 19. *Quoniam Sacerdotes per Orbem dispersi nec Statuunt Canones, nec Judicant, nisi quilibet Plebem suam; tuncque Papa Omnibus Major est*—— in eoque Plenitudo potestatis existit. i. e. Because the Bishops dispersed over the World, do not make Canons, nor Judge, except Every one his own Flock; in this sense, the Pope is greater than they all—— And in this the Plenitude of his Power do's Consist. That is, He was Greater than any Single Bishop, but not than the College of Bishops, when they were Met together. As it may be said at this Day of the Bishop of Canterbury, with Respect to England.

And when *Aneas Sylvius* came to be Pope, and took these High Titles upon him,



him, we ought to Understand them in that sense, which he himself has thus Explain'd. Nor has the *Church of Rome* any other way to save him from *Contradicting* himself, in those *Expressions* they Produce of him after he came to the *Pontificat*, of his Greatness and Power, which they wou'd have overthrow his Authority in what he had so strenuously Argu'd before.

And as this *Pope* thus zealously Asserted th Rights of the *Episcopat* against the then Growing *Encroachments* of the *Pontificat*. He likewise saw, on the other hand, and for the same Reasons, what *Humble Servants* Men wou'd Prove to those who cou'd give them Rewards, even to set up the *Regale* of *Temporal Princes* Above the Authority of the *Church*. Thus he Propheesies, p. 42. *Episcopos vero aliquos, ne quid Temporalitatis amitterent, Libertatem Ecclesie Principibus vendituras, Eosque Judices & Dominos supra Concilium erecturos. i. e. That some Bishops, lest they shou'd lose any thing of their Temporalities, would Sell the Liberties of the Church to Princes, and set them up as Judges and Governors of Councils.*

But we need not the Testimony of *Popes* against the *Regale*. They are Produc'd on the other side, as of most Force against the *Pontificat*. That being  
their

their own Concern. And Men are not Apt to be Partial against Themselves.

More of this sort might be Produc'd. I am Afraid some Readers may think this too Much. Therefor to Return to *more Antient Authorities*, which will Bear the Weight we lay upon them, This Notion which *Gregory the Great*, *Pius*, 2d, and other *Popes* Quoted by him had of the Church, Opposit to that of an *Universal Head* upon Earth, but Govern'd by the *Episcopal College*, is what in the Earliest time had Prevail'd in the *Catholick Church*.

This is the Language of the Great *St. Cyprian*. Ep. 68. p. 178. That therefor the *Episcopal College* is Large, and there are many *Bishops*, join'd together in the Bond of Unity: That if any *Bishop* of the College shou'd propagat *Heresy*, and so seek to Tear and Wast the Flock of *Christ*; the Rest might mercifully Interpose for the saving of the Flock, and Gather again the Sheep of the Lord into the Fold. For tho' we are many *Pastors* (says he) yet we all Feed the same Flock. And Ep. 55. p. 112. he says, That as ther is but One Church thro' the Whole World; Divided into many Members: So ther is but one *Episcopat*, diffus'd in the Numerous Agreement of Many *Bishops*.

Among these the *Bishop* of Rome held the first Place, as being *Bishop* of the most

most Eminent City in the World, it being then the Seat of the Empire. And therefor Applications were Made Principally to him in Affairs of the Church.

But for any such *Universal Supremacy* as is now Pretended; on Account of his being the *Ultimat* and *Infallible Judge* of *Controversy*, it was Totally Unknown to these Early Ages: In which, tho' ther were *Many* and *Great Controversies*, yet No such *Appeal* to the *Bishop* of *Rome* do's Appear from any Body. And it cou'd not have been mist, if that had been the *Principle* of those Times: For it had been a *Summary* Way, and the only true way of Ending all their *Controversies*.

But on the Contrary we find, That *St. Cyprian* and others did Oppose the *Bishop* of *Rome*, Argue against him, and *Reprove* him sharply, where they thought he Deserv'd it.

And *St. Cyprian* and other *Bishops* give him no other Title than that of *Fellow-Bishop*, and *Joint-Brother*: And take leave to Differ as freely from him, as from other *Bishops*.

*St. Cyprian*, when *Arch-Bishop* of *Carthage*, wou'd not take upon him to be *Bishop* of *Bishops*, even over those *Bishops* of his own *Province* whom he call'd together in *Council*, and wherein he *Presided*. Nor Requir'd that any

of them shou'd be Determin'd by his Authority, upon any Point: But allow'd that they Might Differ from his Judgment, seeing they were not Accountable to him, or any Other, but to *Christ* the Chief Shepherd, who had Intrusted them with His Flock under their Charge. *Cyp. in Concil. Carth. p. 129. &c.* And as he Assum'd no such Supremacy to himself, as little did he Allow it to Any Other.

The Notion of an *Universal Vicar* was not then Invented. *St. Cyprian* says of Every Bishop, that he do's *VICE PASTORIS Custodire Gregem. Ep. 8. p. 16. Keep the Flock in the Place of Christ the Chief Shepherd.*

And the *Canons* after made to Regulate the Precedence and Jurisdiction of the Patriarchs, of whom Rome was one:

And the *Council of Carthage, A. D. 419. Can. 126.* forbidding Appeals to any *Trans-Marine Jurisdiction*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, are Absolutely Inconsistent with such an *Universal Supremacy*, as Rome did afterwards Claim, and that *Jure Divino.*

That this *Usurpation* of the Bishops of Rome upon the *Episcopate*, made the Famous Arch-Bishop of *Spalato M. Anton. de Dom.* quit their *Communion*, and come over into *England*, in the Reign of *K. Jam. I.* to seek for a more Pure and Primitive *Episcopacy* here, as himself gives



gives the Reason, in his *Consilium Profectionis*.

But finding here a More *Heterogeneous Erastianism* in the *Regale*, he Return'd. But whether into their *Communion* again, or not, is not Certain.

I. But the *Bishop* of *Rome* having thus Graspt the Power of the whole *Episcopal College* into his own hand, took upon him not only to *Tyrannize* himself, but, out of the *Plenitude* of his Power, he Sold the *Right* and *Authority* of other *Bishops* to *Kings* and *Secular Princes*, on Condition that they wou'd *Aggrandize* his *See*, and Maintain him in his *Usurpation* over the rest of his *Colleagues* the *Bishops*. Thus *Sharing* the *Spoils* of the *Church* with those, who were Able by their Power, to keep his *Robbery* from being *Question'd*. As *Bishop Burnet* says in his *History of the Regale*, p. 241. *The King and the Pope agreed to Divide the Promotions to all Prelacies between them.*

It was the *Pope* who first thorowly settled the *Regale* into an *Ecclesiastical Establishment*, As *Grotius* tells (*de Imper. Summar. Potest. Cir. Sacra. c. 10. §. 24.*) from *Onuphrius* and others, That the Custom of the *Emperors* Chusing *Bishops* Prevail'd from the time of *Charles the Great*. And that it was Establish'd by the Authority of *Pope Adrian. I.* Who ordain'd that the *Ring*

and *Pastoral-Staff* of a Deceas'd *Bishop* or *Abbot* shou'd be Carry'd to the *Emperor*: And that he might *Invest* whom he Pleas'd therewith, and Command them to be *Consecrated* accordingly. And from hence this Custom prevail'd thro' *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*, which was then call'd the *Latin World*: And other *Kings*, as *Spain*, *Hungary*, &c Imitated their Example. So that, says *Onuphrius*, this became the Custom of the *Latin World*. And *Kings* did, at last, Extend it even over *Rome* it self (It is no New thing, to see *Partners* fall out in Dividing the *Spoil*, and to Rob one another) several of whose *Bishops* he there Instances, were Chosen by the *Roman Emperors*, who, he says, did not only Chuse all *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Deans*, and *Prebends*, and all Inferior Orders of the *Church*, but the *Bishop* of *Rome* himself.

This Continu'd in the *Church* of *Rome* 300 years, durig the *Reigns* of 60 *Popes*, till Pope *Hildebrand* set himself against it, and others after him; And have brought it to what we now see. They have Bent the Bow as Much the *Contrary Way*. And Assum'd the *Power* of *Deposing* *KINGS*, to Beat down their *Pretence* to the *Investiture* of *Bishops*, when they found, That it stretcht it self even to the *Bishops* of *Rome* themselves. But when they had got *Free* them-



themselves, they were Content that the other *Bishops* shou'd be kept still under the *Yoke*. And Made a New *Dividend* of the *Spoil*: Allowing to *KINGS* by *Concordats*, the *Presentation* of some *Bishopricks* and other *Church Preferments*, that they might securely Enjoy all the Rest. This was the Effect of Resolving the Whole Power of the *Episcopal College* into One, as *Gregory the Great* fore-told.

This Bargain the *Pope* has made for them as *Supreme Head* and *Governor* of the *Church*.

2. But not Content with this, and to Humble the *Episcopate* more Effectually, he, as the *Sovereign Disposer* of all other *Bishops* and their *Authority*, has set up vast *Swarms* of *Regulars*, in all *Countries* Subject to his *Supremacy*: And has *Exempted* them (contrary to the *Antient Canons*) from the *Jurisdiction* of their *Respective Bishops*: And made them Accountable only to the *Superiors* of their *Respective Orders*, and Ultimately to himself. Therefor they are Justly call'd *The Popes Life-Guard*, as Depending *Wholly* and *Solely* upon Him. And serve him to Purpose in *Battelling*, upon all Occasions, his *Great Foe Episcopacy*, as *Lainez* the *General* of the *Jesuits* did at the *Council of Trent*, by the same Arguments which the *Protestant Presbyterians* have since

Borrow'd against the *Episcopal* Authority.

But the stout Opposition then given by the *Bishops* of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and all the *Popish Dominions*, except some of *Italy* who were the *Popes* Creatures, to this Pretended Supremacy of the *Pope* over all other *Bishops*, and in Defence of the *Primitive Divine Right* of the *Episcopat*, inso-much, That they forc'd the *Pope* to Use all his Arts, to have that *Question* Dropt which he had brought into the *Council*, against the *Divine Right* of *Episcopacy* (excepting Only that of the *See of Rome*) And to keep the Unanimous Opinion of the *Bishops*, for the *Divine-Right* of Every *Bishop*, as well as of the *Bishop of Rome* from being past into a *Decree* of that *Council*: I say, this shews Us plainly, That the *Bishops* of the *Roman-Communion* are kept under the *Usurpations* of the *Papal Supremacy* by *Art* and *Power*: And in all Probability, wou'd have Deliver'd themselves before this time, but for fear of falling More Absolutly under the Power of the *Regale*: Which, by the Artifice of the *Popes*, is kept over their Heads, that they may not think of Steering off from *Scylla*, for fear of falling into *Charybdis*. But the *Channel* lies betwixt these Two. Which is *The Primitive Episcopat*, free from the  
En-



*Encroachments of the Pontificat and the Regale, that have Agreed to support and Maintain Each Other.*

3. Another *Artifice* to Break the *Episcopal Authority*, is the Many *Ieculiarities* which the *Pope* has Made, *Exempt* from the *Jurisdiction* of the *Bishops*. And the *Regale* thinks fit, for the same Reason, to keep them up. The *Pontificat* and the *Regale* Quarrel sometimes about them, to get them from one another: But *Both* Agree to keep them from the *Bishops*.

4. Again the *Pope* as *Supreme Treasurer* of the *Church*, has sweetly Dispos'd of her *Patrimony*. He has *Appropriated* to the *Regulars*; and *Sold* and *Infoedated* to Other *Lay-Men* (for all the *Regulars* are not *Clergy*) all the *Tythes* in *Italy*, and Most in other *Papish Countries*. And the *Regale*, where Pretending to *Reform*, has *Seiz'd* upon all these: But *Return'd* Nothing to the *Church*, from which they were taken.

This still the Effect of Letting the Whole Depend upon One, whether *King* or *Bishop*: But with this Difference, That ther is None who Pretends to be *Universal King*: And therefor, what Every *King* may do in his own *Dominions*, the *Universal Bishop* may do all the *Christian World* over.

Then the Grand Pretence of the *Popes Universal Supremacy* was Discourf-

ed, viz. To preserve *Unity* in the *Church*, as being *One Society*, which cou'd not be without a *Visible Head*. To this it was said,

I. That ther is *One World*. That this *Whole World* is *One Kingdom* to *God*. As it is written, *His Kingdom ruleth over all*. *Pfal. Ciii. 19. They shall speak of the Glory of thy Kingdom.* *Pfal. Cxlv. 11.*

That *God* has Appointed no *Universal Deputy* or *Monarch* under Him, o-ver the *Whole World*. And that the *Peace* and *Unity* of the *World* is best so Consulted by His *All Wise Providence*. For that no *Mortal Man's Abilities* are sufficient to Govern the *Whole Earth*. It wou'd Occasion Infinity of *Defecti- ons* and *Rebellions*, and bring the *World* to greater *Wars* and *Confusions*, than as It is now *Canton'd* into Many *INDEPENDENT Kingdoms* and *States*.

That *Appeals* cou'd not be Made from All *Parts* of the *Earth* to a *King* in any *One Place*. Besides many other *In-su-perable Difficulties*, which are Obvious to any who will Consider of such a *Scheme*.

II. That the same do Occur in the *Notion* of an *Universal Bishop*, to whom *Appeals* from all *Parts* of the *Earth* must Come.

That therefor Many and *Independent Churches* are no more an Objection a- gainst

gainst the *Unity* of the *Church*, than many *Kingdoms* against the *Unity* of *God's Universal Kingdom*.

That ther is a General Law, call'd the *Law of Nations*, by which all *Kingdoms* and *States* think themselves Oblig'd: And by which the *PEACE* and *Commerce* of the *World* is Maintain'd.

That ther is a yet *Stricter* and *More Firm Bond* of *Unity* betwixt the several *Churches* of *Christ*: For whereas any *Civil Sentence*, as of *Death*, *Confiscation*, &c. pass'd by any *King* has no Effect out of his own *Dominions*: The *Sentence* of *Excommunication*, or other *Spiritual Censures*, when Pass'd Justly by any *Bishop* of the *Catholick Church*, have, by the *Rules* of the *Catholick Communion*, their Effect in all other *Churches* through the *World*. And when those *Censures* are *Releas'd* by the *Proper Bishop*, the *Criminal* is *Absolv'd*, and *Restor'd* to *Communion* not only of his own *Bishop*, but of All the *Bishops* of the *Catholick Church*.

So that the *Power* of every *Bishop* Extends all over the *Whole Christian Church*: Whereas the *Power* of Any *King* is *Limited* within his own *Dominions*. And the *Church* is *Cemented* in a *stricter Bond* of *Unity* than the *Secular World*: The *Communion* of *Saints* being a more *Sacred* and more *stricter Tye* than the *Commerce* of *Nations*. And Extends it self to the  
other

other World, takes in the *Saints* and *Angels* of *Heaven*, as making one *Family*, one *Body* with the *Church* upon *Earth*, all *United* under One *Head*, *CHRIST*, the *Lord* and *Father* of *All*.

III. That *God* has Made *Christ* his only *Universal Deputy* over the *World* and of the *Church*. He is the *Onely* *UNIVERSAL King* and *Bishop*. And it is as *Great Blasphemy* for any *One* to *Arrogate* to *Himself* the *One* as the *Other*.

Pfal. xxii.

28:

*For the Kingdom is the LORD's: And he is the Governor among the Nations.*

Mat. xxiv.

14.

And the *Churches* of those *Nations* who Turn to the *LORD*, *Vers. 27.* Hence the *Gospel* is call'd, *The Kingdom*, in *All the World*, And no *Particular Kingdom* is *The Kingdom*, more than it is *The World*. And the *Kingdom* of the *Gospel* Means nothing other than the *Church*. But *Rome* wou'd be not onely the *Chief* or *Principal* of the *Churches* or *Kingdoms*; but it wou'd be *The Church*, *The Kingdom*, that is, *The World*. And Her *Bishop* will be *Content* with *Nothing* less than an *UNIVERSAL Kingship*.

IV. That the *Whole Catholick Church* must *Depend* *Absolutely* upon the *Universal Bishop*, in *Matters* of *Faith*, as well as *Disciplin*: And therefor as his *Power* is *Infinite*, so must he be *Infallible*, else as *Gregory* said, *The Church* must suddenly *Fall*, if it come to *Depend* upon *One*. Hence the *Popes* when they had set



set up for *Universal Supremacy*, Assum'd likewise, *Infallibility* to themselves.

But then the Confusion they are in to find where this *Infallibility* Lies, has render'd their Pretence to it *Contradictory* to it self; The *Necessity* they Pretend for it, being to Reduce things to a *Certainty*, and *Infallible Judgment*; They are in Nothing more *Un-certain* than in this.

*Bellarmin*, and the *Italian Fryars*, who Writ at the *Pope's* feet, place this *Infallibility* in the *Person* of the *Pope*, as *Successor* to *Peter*, and consequently *Heir* of all the *Promises* made to *Peter*. And Extend it not only to Matters of *Faith*, but of *Practice*. For they Rightly say, That this Argument the *Necessity* of an *Infallible Guide*; from the *Goodness* of *God* not to suffer Mankind to be at a Loss for Want of Means to know his Duty, will Reach to Matters of *Practice*, as well as *Faith*; since Men will be Judg'd at the Last Day for the One as well as the Other.

And then how shall we believe such to be our *Infallible Guides*, even in *Practice*, whose *Lives*, as wrote by their own *Historians*, are full of *Enormities*, neither *Few* nor *Little*?

Nay more, who are *Erroneous* in their *Principles*, as well as *Practice*: Who have Established the *Deposing Doctrin*  
by

Great Council of Lateran 3. by Authority of what they call a General Council, and Sanctify'd it by Indulgences to those Subjects, who shall take Arms against their King, and Depose him upon Account of Religion. And the Popes have often put this in *France*, in several Kingdoms.

Hist. Civ. Wars in France, Lond. 1678. 1. Ther were six Popes, who succeed-  
ed one another, during what was call'd, The Holy League in France, of whom Every one Join'd with the League against the King. And this was made an Invincible Argument by the Pope's Legat, to Justify that Rebellion. Anno Dom. 1593.

Some Writers of late years, have made Distinctions to Mollifie this Principle and Practice of the Popes. But however the Popes will not give it up. Nor can they be brought to Dis-claim it.

This was no Objection to Bellarmine, who wrote in Defence of the Deposing Doctrine, and of the Council of Lateran which Enacted it. He thought the Pope was an INFALLIBLE Guide, in this, as in All other things.

And pursuing the Consequence of this HYPOTHESIS to the Utmost, could not stop short of this Monstrous Posuion, That if the Pope shou'd Command the Practice of Vice, and forbid Virtue; The Church were bound to believe  
Vice

*Vice to be Good and Virtue to be Wick-  
ed. de Rom. Pont. l. 4 c. 5.*

We must suppose, That he thought it Impossible the *Pope* shou'd do so (tho' ther are too Many Instances of it) And that the *Universal Bishop* must also be *Universal Guide*, and Consequently *Arbitrary* and *Infallible*, since the Whole *Catholick Church* must Depend upon Him.

The same Reasoning makes these Men Place the *Pope* far *Superior* and *Paramount* to all *Councils*, even *General* compos'd of all the *Bishops* in the Earth. They may *Advise*, but the *Decisison* lies in Him alone.

Others whose *Sense* or *Courage* fail them to Run to this *Excess* of *Madness*, Place the *Infallibility* indeed in the *Pope*: But then they say it is only when he is in *Cathedra*.

Here again they Break into Different Parties, some say he is in *Cathedra* in the *Conclave*: Others deny that; And say that He is only so in a *General Council*.

Some say, That the *Infallibility* is not in the *Pope*, but in the *Council*. That therefor the *Council* is above the *Pope*, and May *Depose* him. As the *Council* of *Constance* Depos'd Three Contending *Popes*, who were all then in the World. Which *Council* the *General Assembly* of the *Gallican Clergy*, A. D. 1682, do

Quote

Quote, in the *Second* of their *Decrees* then Publish'd; And stand upon the Authority of a *Council* as *Superior* to that of the *Pope*:

Others like none of these ways; And Place the *Infallibility* Neither in *Pope* nor *Council* Separatly: But only in Both together.

Lastly, Because Even so, they cannot hold up their *Infallibility*: For ther are several Instances given, where *Pope* and *Council*, have Oppos'd former *Popes* and *Councils*, and Re-scinded their Acts, as *Erroneous*: Therefore there are some who place the *Infallibility* in the *Church Diffusive*: Which if they had not Limited to those only of the *Roman* Communion, they had come nearer to the Truth. If they wou'd Consider themselves only as a *Part* of the *Catholick Church*: And see what it is which they hold in Common with all the other *Christian Churches*: They might in such a *Faith* find an *Infallible* Assurance, tho' not from Any or All of the Persons who Hold it: Yet from the Nature of such an *Universal Testimony*; And in such *Publick* and *Nororious Matters of Fact*, as it is Impossible for Mankind to be Impos'd upon: Which is Demonstrated, even to our *Senses*, in the *Methods with the Deists*, &c. Lately Published.

But



But the *Church of Rome* Grounding all those things wherein she Differs from other *Churches*, upon her *Infallibility*: And not knowing where to find it; being divided into so many *Different* and *Opposit Hypotheses* concerning it, whereof if any *One* be *TRUE*, All the Rest must be *FALSE*; will be Forc'd at Least to *Suspend* whatever She *Builds* upon Her own *Authority*, different from the *Common Sentiments* of Other *Churches*, and of *Mankind*, till she can reconcile her self with her self; And *Agree*, where her *Infallibility* Lies; And to what things it *Extends*, Whether only to *Matter of Faith*? As some; Or also to *Matters of Practice*? As others of as Great Name as any in her *Communion* have Contended; And have the Better of the *Argument*, upon their *Principles*.

But, till these things can be Adjusted, her *Bishop* must lay aside his Pretences to *Universal Supremacy*, which Includes *Omnipotency* and *Infallibility*— And their vain Boast of *Unity* must Cease, till they can *Agree* among *Themselves* upon this *Foundation-Principle* of the *Popes Supremacy*, whereon all the Rest of their *New Doctrins* do Depend.

V. And besides all this, it was further Urg'd, That a *LOCAL Infallibility*,  
or

or *Supremacy* fixt to any one *Place*, wou'd render the *Christian Religion* as *Narrow* and *Precarious* as the *Jewish*, which was *Confin'd* to the *Temple* in *Jerusalem*. And therefor was never *Design'd* for the *Universal Religion*. And it becomes *Impracticable*, whenever that *Place* is in the hands of *Enemies*, as *Jerusalem* now for *Many 100 years* has been; And therefor the *Jews* can have no *Sacrifices*, nor have had these almost *1700 years*, in any *Part of the World*.

Now suppose that *Rome* were *Conquer'd* by *Infidels*, as *Constantinople* has been: Or that a *Christian Prince* should seize *Rome*, as has been done; Then cou'd not *Appeals* be brought to the *Bishop of Rome*, without the *King of Rome's* leave: Who it is not like wou'd Permit so vast a *Concourse*, from all *Parts of the World*, to a *Power* more *Universal* than his *Own*.

Nor wou'd *Christian Princes*, especially if in *War*, think him an *Equal Judge* amongst them all, who were in the *Power* of any one of them.

The *Church of Russia* did submit to the *Patriarchat of Constantinople*, while it was in the hands of *Christian Emperors*, who were at *Peace* with them: But have, with *Good Reason*, and even of *Necessity*, broke off from it, since it has been *Conquer'd* by the *Turk*.  
When

When the Pontifical Chair was Translated from Rome to Avignon in France, where it Remain'd about 70 years, What Disputes did it Create? Popes and Anti-Popes set up against One Another: And that Church torn to pieces with Many and Long Schisms, which all the Wit of Man can Never Reconcile with her Pretended Supremacy and Infallibility.

Then a Remedy was thought on for all these things. And it was said, That the Western Church was (like her Master) Crucify'd betwixt the Usurpations of the Pontifical on One side, and the Regale on the Other.

That if the King's Supremacy, and Power of the State over the Church were Reduc'd to what our Laws before-mention'd have Limited and Explain'd, viz. To Extend only to a Civil Power, tho' in Ecclesiastical Causes, and over Ecclesiastical Persons:

And if the Popes Supremacy were brought back to the Limits of his first Patriarchat, Jure only Ecclesiastico, for the better Regulation of the Episcopal College, and Exerting of its Authority.

Then the Primitive Episcopacy wou'd again Flourish, and Shine forth in full vigor.

M

Then

Then the *Correspondence of Bishops*, by *Communicatory Letters*, wou'd be reviv'd: And when they cou'd freely speak their Minds, without Dread of the *Inquisition* on the One hand, or the *Premunire* on the other, ther is no Doubt but our Differences wou'd lessen as to other Particulars, which are now Heightened, on Purpose to Serve *Parties*, and Support *Supremacies*.

Then those Many and Pious Men in the *Church of Rome*, who do with and have Labour'd for a *Reformation* there: But Dare not Push it on, for fear of falling in with the *Regale Erastianism*, they seeing no other Shore to Row to: Wou'd Gladly *Avow*, what they Now *Secretly Approve* in our *Reformation*.

And we shou'd find no scruple to *Own* and *Amend* what we found *Amis* on our Side.

And on all sides such a Temper wou'd be put on, as to give us a Prospect of a more Glorious *Reformation* than Ever the *Church* saw, since *Constantine* first turn'd *Christian*.

Then *Kings* and *Christian States* being freed from the Just Fears which the *Deposing Doctrin* (taught rather by the *Court* than *Church of Rome*, Merely to support the *Papal Usurpation*) had given them, wou'd not think it their Interest to Encroach upon the  
the



the *Sacred Office*: But leave it in Its full *Vigour* and *Authority*, as being the Greatest Support and Assurance upon Earth to their *Government*, as well as towards the *Salvation* of their *Souls*.

They wou'd not then seek to bring any *Quo Warranto* against the Divine *Charter* of the *Church*, Granted to Her by *Christ* our Lord: But they wou'd Highly *Honour* it, and *Rejoice* in it, That it was *Independent* and *Superior* to All the *Powers* upon Earth. Without which it cou'd not be *Divine*; Nor cou'd we have any Assurance in the *Celebration* of the *Sacred Offices*, or any thing of *Religion*.

Which cannot stand upon a Less *Foundation* than *Christ* has laid for it. And He gave to His *Church* no more *Authority* than was Necessary to the Carrying on of those ends for which He did Institute it. And therefor to Lessen that, must Certainly, so far, Deprive Us of those *Benefits* which *Christ* Design'd to the World in the Erecting of His *Church* among Men.

That therefor the Restoring of Her *Authority* is Necessary towards our Obtaining of these *Benefits*, which is the *Salvation* of our *Souls*, as well as *Temporal Blessings*.

That then, and not till then, *Religion* will be Restor'd to its Antient Lustre, will be *Venerable* and *Glorious*: Which can never be, while those who Administer it, are render'd *Precarious*, which is, *Contemptible*.

Then *Religion*, with its *Beauty*, will recover its *Force* and *Influence* upon the Minds of Men: And be able to Look *Vice* out of Countenance: And Restore a Lasting *Peace* and *Security* to *Kings* and *States*. For *Godliness* is profitable unto all things, having Promise of the Life that Now is, and of that which is to Come.

1 Tim. iv.  
8.

Then will not our *Kings* be tempted to look Abroad for an *Independent Bishop*: Since they cannot believe any other to have *Divine Commission*. For it is a Contradiction to call such an one my *Bishop*, and not to think him my *Superior*, and that I am oblig'd to Obey him, in all things Relating to his Office: As much as to call a Man My KING, and yet Pay him no Duty in *Temporals*.

Then *Bishops* will Transact with one another as *Colleagues*: as *Temporal Princes* do, Each *Independent* and *Supreme* within his own *Dominions*: Yet digested into *Superior* and *Inferior Classes* of *Emperors*, *Kings*, *Sovereign Princes*, and *States*.

Thus

Thus some *Bishops* might be *Metropolitans*, some *Primates*, and some *Patriarchs*, for the better Regulation of the *Episcopal College*, without any Infraction upon the *Episcopate*, and the Supremacy of Every *Bishop* over his own *Subjects*. For Example;

The *Princes Electors* of the *Empire* pay a *Duty* to the *Emperor*, and do him *Personal Services*: Yet are they *Sovereign* and *Independent Princes*; and the *Emperor* has no *Authority*, without their *Leave*, in their *Dominions*. And he *Treats* with them, and they with him, by their *Ministers* and *Ambassadors*, as other *Sovereign Princes* do.

Then wou'd Every *Bishop* have full *Authority* within himself, to *Regulate* and *Direct* his *Clergy*. To *Correct Vice*, and *Reform Error*. And all *Bishops* wou'd stand by and *Assert* the *Discipline* of Each *Bishop* duly *Exercis'd* within his own *District*. And the Example wou'd *Encourage* others: And the *Reformation* wou'd become *Universal*. Then *Bishops* wou'd be *Justly Chargeable* with any *Scandals* in the *Clergy*; or what was *Nororious* in any other of their *Subjects*: And with the *Growth* of *Heresies* and *Errors*. And Mere *Shame* wou'd bring *Matters* to a *Decency*, tho' every one had not the *Pure Zeal* of *Christianity*. For which they have *Now too*

Apparent an *Excuse*, viz. That *Discipline* is Lost, and will not be Permitted by the *State*: Which, by vertue of *Conge d'Esliers*, *Quare Impeditis*, *Prohibitions*, &c. have made themselves the Sole and Ultimate Judges, not only of All *Bishops* and *Churches*: But of their *Excommunications*, and Every Exercise of their *Spiritual Jurisdiction*. Here any *Bishop* who is *Negligent* or *Fearful*, and wants an *Excuse* for letting *Religion* go to *Wrack*, has one ready to his hand: And his *Fellow-Bishops* cannot *Convene* themselves in *Synod* to Judge of him, or to *Consult* of any other Affairs of the *Church*, without the *KING's License*: And therefor they Easily put it off themselves, and lay all the *Miscarriages* at His door. On the other hand, the *State* are as willing to Clear themselves, and say, That the *Bishops* and *Clergy* might do more than they do. That they are *Idle*, they are *Idle*, and complain for want of *Straw*, of more *Power* and *Authority*, without which they Pretend that they cannot make *Bricks*. And desire Ease from their *Burdens*, that they may *Sacrifice* to the *Lord*.

Thus



Thus while Each put it upon the other, it is *Neglected* on both sides. As the saying is, *What is Every bodys Business is no bodys Business.*

In order to Apprehend these things the better, the Company were Desirous to Consider what was the Proper Office of the Priesthood, and for what it was Ordained: That we might thereby know how far it was to be Dispens'd with. And when Incroachments were Made upon it. XIX. The Proper Office of the Priesthood

The Office of a Priest is Describ'd, *Heb. v. 1. viz. He is ordain'd for Men, in things pertaining to God. As to Offer up the Prayers of the People to God, and make Intercession for them; So on God's part, to Sign and Seal the Pardon of their Sins to them, and in His Name to Bless them.*

That Priests in this, do Represent the Person of Christ, Who is the SUPREME High-Priest, Mediator, and Intercessor with God for Men.

That therefor as no Man can be a Lawful Attorney for another, to Sign and Seal COVEVANTS in his Name, which shall Oblige him to the Performance, without a Letter of Attorney Expressly Impowering him so to do, and whereby that Person do's Oblige himself to stand by and Perform

such *Covenants*, as if he himself had *Sign'd* them :

Much less can any Man take upon him to be GODS *Attorney* or *Representative* ; And, as such, to *Sign* and *Seal Covenants* in *His Name*, without His *Express Commission* for that Purpose.

No, *Christ* Himself cou'd not do it, as it is *Inferr'd* from the *Office* of a *Priest* before *Describ'd*, *No Man* taketh this *Honour* unto himself, but he that is called of *God*, as was *Aaron*. So also, *Christ* glorified not himself, to be an *High-Priest* : But He that said unto him, *Thou art My Son*——*Thou art a Priest for Ever* after the *Order of Melchisedec*.

And as this was an *Honour* too Great even for *Christ* to take upon Himself, without an *Express Commission* from *God* : It must needs follow, That no other Man whatsoever can take this *Honour* to himself, without the like *Commission*.

We find the same *Commission* given to the *Apostles*, and with the *Greatest Solemnity* that *Christ* did any thing while he was upon the Earth. The same Day on which he *Rose* from the *Dead*, having *Open'd* the *Prison-Doors*, to shew, That He had *Pay'd* the full *Debt*, as our *Surety*, and Made  
Satis-

*Satisfaction* for All our *Sins*, for which he was cast into the *Prison* of *Death*; And had for Ever been there *Detain'd*, if He had not Pay'd the *Uttermost Farthing*: On the same Day, having Now *Triumphed* over the Powers of *Sin* and *Hell*, He, as the first *Act* of His *Mediatorial Kingdom*, whereby All Power in *Heaven* and *Earth* was given unto Him, did *Invest* His *Apostles* with the same *Commission* which His *Father* had given unto Him. And with *Circumstances* Greatly to be *Notic'd*, and which shew'd something *Extraordinary* then to be done. The same Day at *Evening*, being the first day of the *Week*, when the *Doors* were shut where the *Disciples* were assembled for fear of the *Jews*, came *Jesus* and stood in the *Midst*, and saith unto them, *Peace* be unto you. And when He had so said, He shewed unto them His *Hands* and His *Side*. Then were the *Disciples* glad when they saw the *Lord*. Then said *Jesus* to them again. *Peace* be unto you. As my *Father* hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, He *Breathed* on them, and saith unto them, *Receive* ye the *Holy Ghost*. Whosoever *Sins* ye *Remit*, they are *Remitted* unto them: And whose soever *Sins* ye *Retain*, they are *Retained*.

And

And as he gave this *Commission* unto them: So He gave them Power to Transfer it upon others: And those upon Others to the End of the World. To which time He Promised to be with them, and these their *Successors*, in the Execution of this *Commission*. Matt. xxviii. 20.

That in all Ages since the Beginning of the World, God had such *Representatives* Impowr'd by Him to Bless or Curse in *His Name*.

Before the *Law* in the *Patriarchal Dispensation*, as we find in the Instance of *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, where tho' *Abimelech* King of *Gerar* is Recorded for so Good a Man, that God vouchsaf'd to Appear to him, and Spoke with him and withheld him from sinning, because of the *Integrity* of his *Heart*, yet Commanded him for the saving of his Life, to Procure *Abraham* to Pray for him; For (said God) he is a Prophet, and he shall Pray for thee, and thou shalt Live — So *Abraham* Prayed unto God; And God healed *Abimelech*.

And thus said God to the three Friends of Job. Take unto you now Seven Bullocks, and Seven Rams, and go to My Servant Job, and Offer up for your selves a Burnt-Offering: And My Servant



*Servant Job shall Pray for you, for him will I Accepr.*

Thus Noah Blessed Shem, and Curs-ed Canaan. Gen ix.

Isaac Blessed Jacob, and Rejected Esau. Gen. xxvii.

And Jacob Blessed Pharoah; but more particularly the 12 Patriarchs. Gen xlix. as Moses afterwards did to the 12 Tribes. Deut. xxxiii.

Thus God dispensed his Blessings and his Curses, by the Ministry of Men, whom he had thereunto Impowr'd.

As He did by David and the Prophets, whose Example if we should Imitate herein, without the like Commission, we should Greatly Sin.

That God Impowr'd the Levitical Priesthood under the Law to Bless and Curse in His Name. The Levites were to Pronounce the Curses and Blessings. Deut. xxvii. 28. as it is order'd Chap. xxvii. 14.

For them the Lord thy God hath Chosen to Minister unto Him, and to Bless in the Name of the Lord. Deut. xxi. 5.

Every Man may Bless another, in One sense, that is, to Pray for the Blessing of God upon him. But to Pronounce a Blessing in the Name of the Lord is an Act of Authority, and cannot be done without a Commission from God. Hence the Apostle argues the Greatness of Melchisedec above

bove *Abraham*, because *Melchisedec* Blessed him. And without all Contradiction (says he) the *Less* is Blessed of the *Better*.

The *Seals* which the *Levitical Priesthood* were Impowr'd to put to the *Covenant* which they Administred to the *People* in the *Name* of *God*, were *Circumcision*, and the *Sacrifices*, which were Appointed as *Types* of *Christ*, for the *Remission* of their *Sins*.

The *Seals* of the *New-Covenant* are *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*, as *Commemorations*, and *Exhibitions* of the *Sacrifice* of *Christ* already Past, and a *True Real Conveyance* of all the *Benefits* of it to the *Worthy Receivers*, for the *Remission* of their *Sins*, and a *Pledge* to Assure them of *Heaven*.

Now surely *These* are *Greater* and *More Glorious*, and at least as *Efficacious* as the *Seals* of the *Law*: And therefor the *Priests* of the *Gospel*, to whom *Christ* has Committed the *Administration* of *These*, are as *Truly* and *Properly Priests*, Empowr'd by *Christ* to *Seal Covenants*, in *His Name*, with the *People*, as the *Priests* under the *Law*.

Here

Here it was Discours'd, How the Notion of *Priesthood* has been Dwindl'd, and indeed Quite taken away, in our late times of *Schism* and *Rebellion*: To make way for those who had no *Commission* to shew for their *Usurping* that *Sacred Office*. Therefore they Reduc'd it all to *Preaching*; And lov'd the Name of *Preachers* better than that of *Priests*, which they wou'd have Rejected under the *Gospel Dispensation*. And then whoever thought himself a *Gifted-Man*, that is able to speak with *Assurance*, Apply'd himself to the *Good-Liking* of the *People*; and if he got a *Call* from them, they thought this Sufficient to Qualify him for their *Teacher*. And the Poor People were very Fond of having this *Authority* put into their hands; as if they cou'd Choose *Commissioners* to Sign and Seal the *Covenants* of the *Gospel* to them, on the Part of *Christ*; And Oblige Him, by Vertue of His *Promise* to the *Apostles* and their *Successors*, to *Ratify* and *Confirm* in *Heaven*, whatever had been Transacted with them, in *His Name*, by whomsoever they Pleas'd to Choose into that *Office*, without Deriving any *Succession* from the *Apostles*, or thinking that ther was any Need of it.

They

They said, That other Men cou'd Read the *Gospe*, and the *Absolution* or *Retaining* of *Sins* therein Contain'd, as well as any *Bishop*, or *Priest* Ordain'd by him.

So they might a *Patent*, a *Pardon*, or *Declaration* of *War*, as well as any *Judge*, or *Herald*. But with this Difference, That their doing of it who are not *Legally* Impow'r'd, Signifies just *Nothing*: And no Act done in any Man's Name has any Force, or do's *Oblige* him, unless it be done by those who are thereunto *Commissionat-ed* by him.

And as it is *High-Treason* to do such Acts in the *King's* Name, without his *Commission*; or to Grant such a *Commission* in his Name, without his *Authority*:

It is no less *Blasphemy* against *God*, to Act in *Hu* Name; or give *Commission* to others so to do, without His *Express Warrant*.

And they who *Knowingly* do *Abett* such, and *Follow* them as *Commissionat-ed* by *God*, render themselves *Guilty* of their *Sin*, and *Partakers* of their *Blasphemy* and *Treason* against *God*.

And such *Commission* from *God* must be *Outwardly* Given. For that only is *Visible* to *Us*. And *God* never Made a *Priest*, but by an *Outward Commission*.



tion. CHRIST took not upon Him the Office of a Preacher till He was Outwardly Commissionated by the Voice from Heaven at His Baptism. For it is said, From that time Jesus began to Preach. Matt. iv. 17. And He was then about thirty years of Age. Luk. iii. 23. And none can Doubt of His Inward Call or Qualifications before.

And as Christ did not take this Honour Unto Himself till he was Outwardly Call'd, as was Aaron: So did he not Leave it to the Inward Call of any of His Disciples, to make themselves Apostles; but He Chose Twelve by Name, whom He Ordain'd into that Office. And after Chose 70 others into an Inferior Degree of Preachers. And from that time to this, the same Commission has Descended by Outward Ordination, Given by those to whom Christ Left that Authority.

Then it was said, That the Honour of the Priesthood must needs be very High when it is Reckon'd a Glory even to Christ: And that He could not Glorifie Himself to be a Priest without an Express Commission from His Father. And the Reason is Plain, because None can Make an Attorney, a Representative, or Commissioner, that is, a Priest of God, to Transact or Seal Covenants with Mankind

kind, in *His Name*, but *He Himself*.

How *Dreadful* then did it *Appear* to all the *Company*, to *Consider* the *Lamentable State* of those *Communitys* amongst *Us*, who think that any three or four of them can set up a *Church* by their own *Authority*! And where every *Mechanick*, *Boy*, or *Girl*, may take this *Honour* to themselves, of standing in *God's* stead to the *People*, and *Transacting* with them in *His Tremendous Name*, and by *His Authority*!

*Rom. x. 15.* The *Apostle* says, *How shall they Preach, except they be Sent?* But these think they can *Send* themselves. And the *People* like these best, who come in *their own Name*, that is, by their own *Impulses*, without *Commission* deriv'd from any body. They think these to be *Enlighten'd* and *Gifted-Men*. But those cannot have the *Spirit*, who *Deduce* their *Authority* by any *Commission* granted to them from *Others*. They look upon that to be a *Formal* and *Low DISPENSATION*. And it is no wonder that they take these *Measures* with the *Ministers of Christ*, when they made the same *Objection* against *Himself*, as *He* said, *I am*  
*Jo. v. 43.* *Come in My Father's Name, and ye Receive me not: If another shall Come in his own Name, him ye will Receive.*

This

This has been the Humour of Giddy and Un-stable People from the Beginning, Not to be Wise unto Sobriety, But to think of themselves more Highly than they ought to think. Rom. xii, 3. And to Heap to themselves Teachers, having Itching Ears. And they shall turn away their Ears from the Truth, and shall be turned unto Fables. ii. Tim. iv. 3, 4.

Then a Discourse arose concerning Toleration, how far these were to be Suffer'd. And it was said, That ther was a Great Difference betwixt bare Sufferance, and a Toleration by Law. The Jews are Now with Us upon Sufferance, and they have free Liberty of their Religion. But they have no Toleration or Authority of the Government for their Synagogues, &c.

That Christ did Suffer the Buyers and Sellers in the Temple, for a Time. But he gave them no License (nor wou'd, if they had Ask'd Him before He drove them out) to Prophane the House of God.

That God Suffers all the Sins in the World and Bears Long with them

them, to give Men Space of *Repentance*. But he gives no Man *License* to Sin, nor Promise of *Impunity*, no not for an Hour.

That when *Diseases* have taken Deep Root, and the *Infection* become *Universal*, so that Many *Simple* and *Well-Meaning* Persons are Drawn in; And Others have Suckt it in with their *Milk*, and are Carry'd away by their *Education*, ther may be *Prudential* Reasons for a *Sufferance* of such *Errors*, for a Time, till all the Milder Methods of *Persuasion* and *Conviction* shall be Us'd, which are the Best, and most Agreeable to the Spirit of *Christianity*.

But that, in no Case, can any *License* or *Authority* be given for *Error* to Propagat it self. Because that makes those who Grant it *Partakers* with it, and *Answerable* for it. It becomes their *Act* and *Deed*.

That the *Kings* of *Judah* and *Israel* were *Blam'd*, And severely *Punished* by God for *Suffering*, Much More for *Encouraging* of *Idolatry*, and other *Prophanations* in their *Kingdoms*: Which they ought to have *Retrain'd* with the *Civil Sword*.

That



That the *Churches of Pergamos, and Thyatira* were *Censur'd*, and *Terribly Threaten'd* for *Suffering false Prophets* Rev. ii. 14. 15, 20. to *Teach and Seduce the Servants of Christ*. And for having those among them *who held the Doctrins of Balaam, and of the Nicolaitans*. Which thing (said God) *I Hate*.

Here the *Universal Toleration* in *Holland* came under *Consideration*. And it was thought a *Sacrificing* of *God to Mammon*.

And yet such a *Toleration* as the *Dutch* do Allow, wou'd Cure *Non-Conformity* in other Places, that is, Not where Men shall be *Brib'd* to *Prophane* the *H. Sacrament* for an *Office*; And an *Action* lie against the *Minister* who shall Refuse it to them, tho' he *Knows, Sees, and Hears* them, in their *Conversations* and *Principles* to be never so much *Un-Qualify'd*: But where all that go to *Meetings* are render'd *Un-Capable* of any Place of *Trust* or *Profit* in the *Government*. Which cannot be call'd any sort of *Persecution*, Unless to those whose *Conscience* will not rest Satisfy'd till they are in *Power*. Rather than Miss

of which, they can Dispense with *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament* ( tho' they made it no less than *Idolatry* ) and *Conforming*, as oft as the *Law* makes it Necessary for an *Employment*, to the whole *Common-Prayer*, against which they *Rail*, as being the *Maß* in *English*, and give it as a Reason of their *Non-Conformity*. And all their *Objections* against the whole *Office* of *Matrimony*, the *Superstition* of the *Ring*, &c. give way to a Good *Settlement* upon *Marriage*, lest it might be *Liable* to a Dispute in *Law*.

Which makes it Plain, That they can Accept of an *Equivalent* for their *Conscience*: Or otherwise, That it is not *Conscience* of which they are *Sick*.

And the same Reason that makes them Submit to the *Sacramental Test*, wou'd keep them out of *Meetings*, if that were Required as a *Condition* of *Preferment*. But this was a Digression.

It was said, That the *Indulging* Liberty of *Preaching* and other *Offices* of the *Priesthood* to All, *Whether in Orders, or out of Orders*, had Render'd it so *Contemptible*, as that this *Office*, which was Counted a *Glory to Christ*, was now Fallen so low with Us, as to be thought Beneath a *Gentleman* !

And whereas in the *Primitive Church* to Reduce a *Priest* to *Lay-Communion*, was thought a *Degrading* him from the *Honour* of the *Priesthood*: And a *Punishment* Equal to the *Excommunication* of a *Lay-Man*, both being Inflicted for the Same *Crimes*: Now it is so far from that, That the *Lay-Communion*, as of *Princes* and other *Great-Men*, is Counted More *Honourable* than the *Sacerdotal*. And if any Man of *Estate* or *Quality* takes upon him the *Priesthood*, it is thought a *Mighty Condescension*,

and an *Adorning* of the *Priesthood*, rather than any Addition of *Honour* to the *Lay-Man*.

And no wonder, when instead of the *Priests* of God, they are now Call'd the *Lay-Men's Priests*, such a Man's *Priest* or *Chaplain*, and Reckon'd as his *Menial Servant*, belonging to his *Family*, and Part of his *Equipage*. Otherwise the Expression is Proper enough, to say *My Chaplain*, as I say *my Parish-Priest*, *my Bishop*, *my King*, or *my God*: which Argues my being under their *Care* and *Direction*, And that I *Belong* to them, not *They* to Me.

The *Priests* under the *Law* had their *Habitation* in and about the *Temple*, and in their *Cities* and *Suburbs* which, by God's Express order, were Assign'd them in the *Country*.  
And



And tho' they went *Circuits* and Taught the People, yet they Liv'd in no *Family*, no not in the *King's*, as *Chaplains*, that is, as *Chaplains* are Now Reckon'd, under the Notion of *Servants*. To be à *Sacris* in any *Lay-Family*, is to *Preside* over, and *Administer* the *Offices* of *Religion*, as to his *Cure* and *Flock* under him. They are his *Cure*; and he, not their *Servant*, but their *Pastor*. And ought to be Plac'd over them by the *Bishop*, and not left to Every ones *Fancy* ( and some very Un-able to Judge ) to *Take in*, and *Turn out*, at their Pleasure, as they do to their *Foot-Men*. That they may be Wholly Subservient to their *Humour* and their *Frolics*, sometimes, to their *Vices*. And to *Play* upon the *Chaplain* is often the Best part of the *Entertainment*. And *Religion* Suffers with it. Ther is None who Consider the *Office*, and, upon that Account, Desires a *Chaplain*,

but wou'd be Content to Re-  
 ceive him from the *Bishop*, as he  
 do's (or ought to do) the *Min-  
 ister* of his *Parish*. If any will  
 not have *Chaplains*, upon these  
 Terms, let them want them. So  
 much the Better. And let them  
 Frequent the *Parish-Communion*:  
 From which *Privat Chappels*, as  
 they are too frequently Us'd,  
 are a sort of *Exemption*, and  
 Breach of the *Parochial Commu-  
 nion*. They are, when so Us'd,  
 a *Relict* of *Popery*, and *Infra-  
 ction* upon the *Disciplin* of the  
*Church*, which ought to Admit  
 of None into Her *Communion*,  
 that are not under the *Visitati-  
 on* and *Direction* of the *Bishop*,  
 who is the *Principle* of *Unity* in  
 his *Church*. Otherwise they are *Se-  
 paratists*, and if set up in *Opposition*  
 to the *Bishop*, are formal *Schisma-  
 ticks*. Like the *Regulars* in the  
*Church* of *Rome*, who are *Ex-  
 empted* from the *Jurisdiction* of  
 their *Respective Bishops*. But  
 they

they have the *Plenitude* of the *Popes* Power to Plead. Which will not serve in our Case.

Let me here (said one) give an Instance I have heard of the late King of *Sweden* (and I suppose it is the same with all their *Kings*) That when he Travell'd, tho' he had his *Chaplains* with him, yet he Always had the *Minister* of the *Parish* where he came, to *Officiate* to him, when he cou'd be had; as being then, both Himself and his *Chaplains*, under his *Cure*.

But let us go up as High as we can, and see what we can find like this *Office* of an *Household-Chaplain*, in very Early times. And what it was.

The Nearest Instance we find of it was in *Micah*. Which was in the times of Confusion, when *Judg. x7.* ther was no King in *Israel*, and the

the Stated *Worship* of God was  
 thrown Loose, and Neglected;  
 the *Levites* left to wander, and  
*Sojourn* where they cou'd find a  
*Place*: And Every Man did that  
 which was Right in his own Eyes.  
 Then Micah set up *Idolatry*, and  
 Made him An *House of Gods*.  
 And tho' he Agreed with a *Young*  
*Man* a *Levit*, and Allow'd him  
*Ten Shekels of Silver by the Year*,  
 besides *Meat, Drink, and Cloaths*,  
 or an *Order of Garments*, as our  
*Margin* Reads it; if this was to  
 be his *Chaplain*, yet it was far  
 from the *Notion* of being his  
*Servant*, but as Micah expresses  
 it, *Dwell with me* (said he to  
 the *Levit*, tho' a *Young-Man*)  
 And be unto Me a **FATHER**  
 and a **PRIEST**. And, under the  
 same *Notion* he became after-  
 wards a *Father* and a *Priest* to  
 the *Tribe of Dan*. Chap. xviii. 19.  
 So that in those Days a *Priest*  
 (if he was a *Chaplain*) was  
 Re-



Reckon'd as a *Father*, and not as a *Servant*, even tho' he was *Hired* to Live in the *House*, and be a *Sacris* or *Chaplain* to the *Family*. For in that Case, such a *Family* was his *Cure*, and He was their *Pastor*, or *Father*. And they were All under His *Direction* and *Government*, and not He under theirs, as to what Concern'd *Religion*.

And his Receiving *Hire* or *Reward* for his *Office*, did not Inferred his *Subjection*, as to what Related to his *Office*: More than our Paying *Tribute*, do's Inferred that the *King* is *Inferior* to Us, and that We *Hire* him, or Pay him *Wages* to Govern Us. The *Apostle* Argues the *Greatness* of *Melchisedec* above *Abraham*, from *Abraham's* paying *Tythe* to *Melchisedec*, as unto a *Priest* of *God*. Who feedeth a *Flock*, and Eateth not of the *Milk* of the *Flock*? Yet this Argues not the *Superiority*

Heb. vi. 4

*riority of the Flock above the Pastor.*

That ther can be but One *Pastor* ( unless in subordination to *Superior Pastors* ) to One *Flock*. As no Man can *Serve Two Masters*, yet One *Master* May have Many *Servants*. And the Reason is, Because he is not Under their *Charge* and *Government*, but they are under his. So where One Man has Many *Priests* or *Chaplains*, he is not their *Charge*; but they are his.

That as we find Nothing in the *Law*, of *Kings* being Allow'd *Houshold-Priests* or *Chaplains*: *Kings* themselves were not then thought too Good to *Attend* the *Publick-Service* of God in the *Temple*:

So among the *Heathens*, No *Mortal Man*, None of their *Emperors* ever Assum'd to himself  
to

to have *Priests* Dedicated to his Service, till he Arriv'd at the *Blasphemous Vanity* of being made a God. For *Priests* belong to None but Gods. A Priest, as a Priest, cannot be a *Servant* to Men. God and Priest are *Relative* Terms; and therefor a Priest can belong to None but a God. Thus thought the *Heathen*. But so much is the *Christian Priesthood*, with Us, fallen below even *Theirs*!

Now the *Office* of the *Priesthood* being thus totally Inverted, the *Honour* must Fall with it, and of *Religion* too, with the *Use* and *Benefit* of it, being *Administred* by Hands render'd so *Contemptible*.

And it is thus, by a Natural Consequence, in all Sorts of *Offices* and *Employments* whatsoever. The *Office* of a *King*, a *General* or a *Judge* are no farther Regarded by Us, than as  
we

we find them *Useful* to Us, and that we stand in *Need* of them. And the *Reverence* we have for these must bear *Proportion* to the *Value* we have for those *Ends* to which they are *Or-dained*. Therefor, Whoever bring these *Offices* into *Contempt*, are Justly Reputed *Wicked Men*, and *Profligat*, who Love not the *Peace* of the *World*, or *Good* of *Mankind*; but wou'd Introduce *Confusion* and *Destruction*, to Satisfy their own *Ambition*, or other *Self-Ends*.

And the Argument will Carry the same as to *Religion*. There Needs no Application. We cannot Pretend any *Reverence* for it, while we hold the *Priesthood*, by which it is *Administred*, in the Last *Contempt*. And the *Dishonour* Redounds to GOD Himself.

1 *Kin*. xiii.  
33, 34.

This was the Reason it was Reckon'd so Grievous a *Sin* in *Jeroboam*, that he Made *Priests* of



of the *Lowest* of the *People*; tho' it was to his *Calves*, to the *Idols* he had set up: For the *Worship* being Referr'd to *God*, tho' in an *Idolatrous* Manner, which He had Forbidden, the *Dis honour* Referr'd likewise to Him, in the *Contempt* that was put upon those *Priests*, by whom they *Worshipped* what they Call'd *God*, as being what they had set up and *Dedicated* to *Represent* Him, and bear His *Name*.

This was the Reason that *God* did bestow such a Distinguishing *Dignity* upon the *Tribe* of *Levi*, beyond all the Rest of the *Tribes*: And counted it no *small Honour* Num. xvi. to them that He had *Separated* 9. them from the *Congregation* of *Israel*, and brought them near to Himself, to do the *Service* of the *Tabernacle* of the *Lord*. It was *Death* for any Other to Approach Num. i. 51. iii. 38. to the *Altar*. For which *Presumption*, a *Great* and a *Good* 2Chr. xxvi KING was Smitten with *Le-*  
prosy

*profy* to his Death. And God put so much of *His* own Honour upon His Priests, that any *Dis-bonour* done to them, was call'd

*Lev. xxi. 9.* a *Prophanation*. The Daughter of a Priest that play'd the *Whore*, was to be *Burnt with fire*; because She *Prophan'd* her Father.

*Ezek. xlii. 22.* A Priest was not to Marry a Widow, except the Widow of a Priest. To Marry the Relict of any Lay-Man, was call'd a **PROPHANING** of his Seed among his People. And the Reason is Given; For I the Lord

*Lev. xxi. 15.* do Sanctifie him. And they were not to Communicat this Sanctification to the People. They were not to Appear before the People in the Holy Garments in which they Minister'd, but to put on other Garments, when they went out to the Utter Court to the People. And it is said, They shall not Sanctifie the People with their Garments.

*Lev. xxi. 4, 5, 6, 8.* A Priest was not to Mourn for the Dead, as the Laity were, and the Reason is given, He shall not De-

Defile himself, being a Chief Man among his People, to Prophane himself. They shall not make Baldness upon their Head, &c. They shall be Holy unto their God, and not Prophane the Name of their God. The Prophanation of the Priests is call'd a Prophaning of God. And so on the other hand, as we are Com-manded to Sanctifie GOD, and to Esteem Him Holy, the same is Com-municated to the Priests, who Repre-sent him, and Officiat in his Name. Ver. 8. Thou shalt Sanctifie him therefore, for he Offereth the Bread of thy God, he shall be Holy unto thee ; for I the Lord who Sanctifie you am Holy. The Meaning of which is, That if God be Holy, so must his Priests be Esteem'd by Us : Not upon a Personal Account, as God is Holy in Himself, and None but He. And some Priests, as Hophni and Phi-nebas, are Sons of Belial, and know not the Lord ; And there was a Judas among the Apostles : But upon Ac-count of their Office, which is Holy. And that they Offer the Bread of our God, which is Holy.

Now can the Shew-Bread in the Temple be called The Bread of our God, so Properly, so Strictly, so Eminently, as the Bread in the Holy Sacra-ment, which is The Body of Christ ; And we being Many are one Bread and one Body ; for we are all Partakers of the

*one Bread?* 1. Cor. x. 17. And do's not then *Holiness* and *Honour* belong as much, at least, to the *Evangelical Priesthood*, who Offer this *Bread of our God*, as to the *Priests* under the *Law*, who set the *Shew-Bread* upon the *Holy Table* in the *Temple*! And is not the One as properly the *Office* of a *Priest* as the other!

Whence then came this *Direful Contempt* that is Cast upon the *Evangelical Priesthood* amongst Us! And is Run down thro' all *Orders* and *Degrees* of Men! Till it is Deny'd by some who Call themselves *Clergy-Men*, to be any *Priesthood* at all! And then *What is it?* Something without a *Name*, without a *Meaning*, fit to be *Trampl'd* upon, and made a *Tool* of *State*, to *Gajoul* the *People*! Only a *Privilege* of *Haranguing*, to be *Silenc'd* by Every *Nod* of those in *Power*!

But if the *People's* Dishonouring the *Priests* of *God* be a *Prophaning* of *God Himself*; And the mark of so *Desperate* a state, as to be *Reckon'd* past *Remedy*; according to the *Prophet* *Hof. 4. 4.* *Let no Man strive or Reprove another; for thy People are as they that strive with the Priest.*

What then must the *Condition* of those *Priests* be, who *Prostitute* and *Prophane* their own *Character*! If an  
Ambas-



*Ambassadors* suffering any *Indignity*, is justly Reputed his Dishonouring of the *Prince* whose Person he sustains: How much more is it a Dishonour done to his Majesty, if the *Ambassador* himself shall vilifie and Disgrace his own *Character*: And how much more Severely wou'd it be Resented by his *Master*?

The Lord says of His Priests, *I will* <sup>Lev. x. 31</sup> *be Sanctify'd in them that come nigh me.* <sup>17.</sup> And gives that as a Reason why He Devoured *Nadab* and *Abihu* by Fire. And says, that the *Priests* are to bear the *Iniquity* of the *Congregation*. And as others are Forbidden to *Prophane* the *Priest*, so is He commanded not to *Prophane* Himself. And it is called <sup>Lev. xxi. 4]</sup> *a Prophaning of the Sanctuary of his God;* <sup>12, 15.</sup> <sup>xxij. 2;</sup> *for the Crown of the Anointing Oyl of his God is upon him.* And a *Prophaning* of God Himself, That they *Prophane* not my Holy Name: I am the Lord. And the *Priest* was to Bear the *Iniquity* <sup>Ex. xxviii.</sup> *of the Holy things.* And the *Iniquity* of <sup>38.</sup> *the Sanctuary.* And the *Iniquity* of your <sup>Num. xviii.</sup> *Priesthood.* Says God to them. And be- <sup>1.</sup> *cause Ye have Corrupted the Covenant of* <sup>Mal. ij. 7;</sup> *Levi,* saith the Lord of Hosts: Therefore <sup>8, 9.</sup> *have I also made you Contemptible and Base before all the People.* For the *Priest* is the *Messenger* of the Lord of Hosts. And according to this High Dignity of his Office *St. Paul* commanded the first

*Bishop of Crete, to Support it to the  
Tit. II. 15. full, These things Speak and Exhort, and  
Rebuke with all Authority. Let no Man  
Despise thee.*

Then it was said, That all this is  
Come to pass, That the *Root* and  
*Bottom* of all this was the bringing the  
*Priesthood* at first under the *Regale*, as  
to those things that Appertain to its  
Office.

Whence it became Subject to Every  
body else, even to the *Beasts* of the  
*People*. For there is Nothing can set  
it out of the Reach of the *People*, that  
will not likewise put it Above the  
*Power* of *Kings*: For if it be *Divine*,  
it is *Independent* of them *All*: And if  
not, it must be a *Cheat*, and ought to  
be Treated accordingly by Every  
body.

But, on the Contrary, it was insisted  
upon, That all the *Kings* and *Powers*  
upon the Earth, Nay all the *Angels* of  
*Heaven* have not *Authority* to Consti-  
tute Any to Transact with *Men*, in the  
*Stead* of *God*, and in His *Name*. That  
is, have not Power to make a *Priest*.

And that the *Commission* before-men-  
tioned which *Christ* gave to his *Apostles*,  
Joh. xx. to the *Angels* of the *Churches*, is  
more than He has Granted to His *An-  
gels* of *Heaven*. To whom He hath not  
put in Subjection the *World* to Come.  
(Heb. ii. 5.) the Administration of the  
King

Kingdom of Heaven to Men, otherwise than as being *All* of them *Ministring Spirits*, sent forth to Minister unto them who shall be Heirs of Salvation Heb. i. 14. They have been sent to the World with *Messages*, And upon Particular *Errands*: And have a Charge given them over Us, to keep Us in all our Ways. But None of them, without a *Special Commission*, cou'd Consecrate or Administer the Holy Sacrament: Cou'd Confer H. Orders, or other Acts of the *Priestly-Office*. And no such *Commission* was ever Granted to Any of them. Nay the *Apostle* argues (Heb. viii. 4. ) That if *Christ* Himself were upon the Earth, He shou'd not be a Priest, that is, According to the Law; because He was not of the Tribe of Levi ( Chap. vii. 14. ) to which the *Priesthood* under the Law was Annex'd. So Strict and Inviolable was the Office of the *Priesthood* then kept. Theretor that *Christ* might make no Infraction upon the *Levitical Priesthood*, He was called of a Prior and Superior Order of *Priesthood*, that of *Melchisedec*. And the same He Deduc'd to His *Apostles* and their *Successors* to the End of the World. The same *Commission*, the same *Glory*, which His Father gave unto Him. Job. xvi. 22. He sent Them, as His Father had sent Him. Chap. xx. 21.

Which is now so far Forgot, That Men, Women, and Children, do Press into the *Evangelical Priesthood* ( far Superior to that of *Levi* ) without any Ordination, or Pretence of Succession from the *Apostles*. And the Reason is, because they Mind not the Commission before Mention'd which Christ Gave to His *Apostles*. Joh. xx. 23. But have Reduc'd it all to *Preaching*; of which whosoever thinks himself Capable, Imagins that by that alone he has Obtain'd the *Commission*.

But it was Observ'd that ther is no word of *Preaching* in that *Commission*. Job. xx. 23. That *Preaching* was not Mention'd till Forty days after, upon the *Ascension* of Christ, Matth. xxviii. 19. Mar. xvi. 15. But that after-Commission did not vacat this first-Commission Given by Christ on the Day of His *Resurrection*. It was only a further Explanation of it, with Power and Authority to Preach it to All the World. So that *Preaching*, tho' a Part of the *Apostolical Commission*, and Consequently of the *Priesthood*, is not the Chief Part, far less the Only thing Contain'd in that *Commission*.

And the Notion, That ther is Nothing in it but the *Liberty* of *Preaching*, or *Haranguing* to the People, which Every body may take up at their own hand, has Render'd it so *Præcarious*



rious, and these Common Preachers so Contemptible, That not only Kings and States, but the Meanest of the People think they have Authority to Command them Silence, like any other Common-Cryers, whom they Hire to Cry Lost Goods, or Stray-Sheep, or what Else they Please to Impose upon them. At least, That None shall Cry in their Streets, or Preach to them, without their Leave and by their Commission. And Kings Claim this by a Power Paramount.

As the Court-Bishops said to Amos, O thou Seer, go, flee thee away into the Land of Judah, and there Eat Bread, and Prophesie there: But Prophesie not again any more at Bethel, for it is the King's Chapple, and it is the Kings Court, Here is an Early Precedent for Exemptions. And others besides King's have taken this Privilege to themselves. As many as have Power to maintain it. Leaving a Staff and a Pair of Shoes at any Minister's Door in Holland, is a Sufficient Discharge from his Office without any Tryal; He is to Ask no Questions, the Will and Pleasure of the Magistrates is Sufficient. How then can such be the Ministers of Christ, or have any Commission from Him? Or what Authority is Given by His Commission, that can be thus Blown away by Burghers?

Am. vii.  
12. 13.

And why not by them, as well as *Kings*, since *Kings* are as much *Subjects* to *Christ*, and to His *Kingdom* as they are?

It was said, That by these Means the true Notion of a *Church* and of *Priest-hood* had been Utterly Lost amongst those where *Erastianism* has Prevail'd. And Consequently the *Reverence* due to *Religion*, and to *God* had Sunk with it; And also the *Benefits* Annex'd to the *Holy Offices* of the *Church*, as *Means* of *Grace* Appointed by *Christ* our Lord, on which are Grounded our hopes of *Glory*.

That it is *Blasphemy* as well as *Folly* to think *God* did thus *Dignifie* His *Priest-hood* on purpose to make the *Priests* Proud. Or for that Reason, to Refuse them the *Honour* which *God* has Given them. We may, by the same Rule, Refuse *Honour* to *Kings*, or to any Other to Whom it is Due. But *God* did put so much of His own *Honour* upon His *Priests*, because, without that, He knew that neither He Himself nor His *Institutions* wou'd be *Honoured*, and *Valued* as they ought to be; And Consequently Men wou'd thereby Loose the *Benefit* of them, and Ruin their own *Souls*, by *Despising* the *Means* He had Ordained for their *Salvation*.

Here one Interposd with a *Caution*,  
 That we shoul'd have a Great Care  
 not to carry these Matters too High.  
 That to *Over-Strain* any thing, is to  
*Ruin* it, and Lose all its Just *Force*.  
 That it is *Easy* and *Natural* for a  
 Heated Imagination to *Magnifie* any  
 Beloved Object: And thereby to Ren-  
 der that *Hated* and *Dispis'd*, which  
 otherwise, in its Due *Proportion*, wou'd  
 be *Honour'd* and *Esteem'd*. That there-  
 for, we shou'd Contain our Selves  
 within the *Sobriety* of *Religion*: And  
 not to *Exceed* the Plain *Rule* of H.  
*Scripture*. That if the *Priesthood* be  
 of such *Mighty Dignity* indeed, then  
 it wou'd be Expected, That the *Stile*  
 of *Scripture* shou'd Bear up to it, and  
 Speak of the *Priest-hood* in an *Eleva-*  
*tion* Proportionable.

To which it was Answer'd, That  
 the *Caution* was *Just* and *Necessary*.  
 But that as we are not to *Over-Rate*  
 things, neither must we *Under-Rate*  
 them. For that by so doing, we  
 likewise Lose the *Benefit* and *Advan-*  
*tage* of them. Especialy in Matters  
 of *Religion*, and which Concern our  
*Souls*. That it is not *Easy* to *Over-*  
*Rate* these. That the Common Dis-  
 ease of the World is to *Under-value*  
 and *Neglect* these. That the *Rule* pro-  
 pos'd is the *Best* and *Safest*, to Govern  
 our selves by the H. *Scriptures*, And

turn

Here

turn neither to the *Right* hand nor to the *Left*. Not to *Exceed* what is there said of the *Priest-hood*, out of any *Intemperate Zeal*: Nor to *Abate* any thing of it for fear of *Man*, or to Court their Favour.

Therefor We were desir'd to turn our Eyes to the *H. Scriptures*, and see there what sort of *Titles* and *Discriminations* were Given to those who were *Dignify'd* with the *H. Priest-hood*.

They are there call'd *Kings* and *Priests* unto God. *Rev.* v. 10.

The *Stars* in the *Right* hand of *Christ*. *Rev.* i. 20.

The *Angels* of the *Churches*: Chap. ii. iii. &c.

And the *Glory* of *Christ*. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

*Ministers* of *Christ*, and *Stewards* of the *Mysteries* of God. 1 *Cor.* iv. 1. To whom He hath committed the *word* of *Reconciliation*. 2 *Cor.* v. 19.

*Ambassadors* for *Christ*, in *Christ's* stead. *Co-Workers* with Him. 2 *Cor.* v. 20. vi. i.

Henceforth not *Servants*, but *Friends* of *Christ*. *Joh.* xv. 15.

*Brethren* of *Christ*. *Joh.* xx. 17.

As my Father hath sent Me, even so I send you. Whose soever Sins ye Remit they are Remitted unto them: And whose soever Sins ye Retain they are Retained, *Job.* xx. 21, 23.

What-



Whatsoever ye shall Bind on Earth,  
shall be Bound in Heaven : And what-  
soever ye shall Loose on Earth, shall be  
Loosed in Heaven. *Matth. xviii. 18.*

He that heareth you, heareth Me ;  
And he that Despiseth you, Despiseth  
Me. *Luke, x. 16.*

*Matth. 2.*

It shall be more tolerable for *Sodom*  
and *Gomorrah* in the day of Judgment  
than for those who will not Receive  
you.

*15.*

Obey them that have the *Rule* over  
you, and *Submit* yourselves, for they  
watch for your Souls, *Heb. xiii. 17.*

Esteem them very *Highly*, for their  
Works sake. *1. Theff. v. 13.*

Hold such in *Reputation*. *Phil. ii. 29.*

Worthy of *Double Honour*. *i. Tim.*

*v. 17.*

He remembreth the *Obedience* of you  
all, how with *Fear* and *Trembling* ye  
Received him. *2. Cor. vii. 15.*

Ye Receiv'd me as an *Angel* of *God*,  
even as *CHRIST JESUS*. *Gal. iv.*

*14.*

Ye know what *Commandments* we  
gave you, by the Lord Jesus

—He therefor that Despiseth, Despi-  
not *Man*, but *God*, *1 Theff. iv. 2. 8.*

Of the Rest durst no Man Join him-  
self to them ; but the People *Magni-  
fy'd* them. *Act, v. 13.*

No Man taketh this *Honour* unto  
himself, but he that is Called of *God*,

as was *Aaron*, so also CHRIST *Glorify'd* not Himself to be made an HIGH-PRIEST; but He that said unto him, Thou art My Son——

Thou art a PRIEST, &c. *Heb. v. 4.*

They are not afraid to speak Evil of *Dignities. ii Pet. ii. 10. Jude. 8.*

They Respected not the Persons of the PRIESTS. *Lam. iv. 16.*

Let no Man strive or Reprove another, for thy People are as they that strive with the PRIEST. *Hos. iv. 4.*

Rebuke with all Authority. Let no Man Despise thee. *Tit. ii. 15. 1 Tim. iv. 11, 12.*

For God hath not given Us the Spirit of Fear but of Power 2 *Tim. i. 7.*

I Magnifie Mine Office. *Rom. xi.*

13.

In the Name, and with the Power of our Lord *Jesus Christ* ( 2 *Cor. ii. 10.*) to Deliver unto Satan. 1 *Cor. v. 4. 5.*

We are the Saviour of Death unto Death; And of Life unto Life. And who is Sufficient for these things! 2 *Cor. ii. 16.*

Many other Texts were Produced, which shew the Office and Dignity of the Priesthood.

And then as a Conclusion to the Whole Discourse, it was thought Proper to Inquire into the Original of these two Societies, the Church and the State: For that by this, the Na-  
ture

ture and Tendency of Each wou'd better Appear : And their Dependance or Independance upon One Another.

I. As to the *Original* of the *State*, or XX.  
of *Political Government* amongst Men. *Original of*

The Government here call'd *Political*, is Distinguish'd from the *Pater-  
nal* or *Natural Government* of *Fathers* over their *Families*. And means that of *Nations*, under *Kings* or *States*, as the word *Political* is now understood. *the Church  
and State.*

1. And some, to support their Notion of the *Original* of this sort of Government in the World, wou'd have it Suppos'd, tho' without any Ground, That ther was no such Government till after the *Flood*. And till after the *Flood*: And that it had its *Beginning* by very *Wicked Means*, by the *Usurpation* and *Tyranny* of *Nimrod*, the beginning of whole Kingdom was *Babylon*: Who gave Rise to the first *Assyrian Monarchy*, so call'd from his Son *Ashur*, who Built *Nineveh*.

And they thought, That this was so far from being an *Advantage* or *Benefit* to *Mankind*, That it was an *Encroachment* upon their *Liberties* and *Freedom*: And was a Pattern to All the after and succeeding *Despotical Governments*, which have Prevail'd ever since. *Gen. 10. 10,  
11.*

They

They thought, That the World was Better before in the *Paternal* Governments of *Families* Only.

2. Others said, That this was not the *Original* of *Political* Government. Which they Suppos'd Began by the *Common Vote* or *Election* of the People. And tho' they cannot find the *Original Contract*, Yet they take it for Granted, That ther is no other Just *Foundation* of *Political* Government amongst Men ; who they think were All born Equal.

3. Others, thinking all this to be *Precarious*, and Plainly against *Matter of Fact*, took to Sir Rob. Filmer's way of the *Patriarchat* : Supposing that from the *Original Right* of *Adam* over his *Children* (which was the Whole World ) that *Authority* Descended to the *Eldest*, as his *Heir*. And that thus it Continu'd in the Ten *Patriarchs* before the *Flood*. And that, after the *Flood*, when the *World* was sufficiently *Peopl'd*, in Order to their *Dispersion* over the *Earth*, then *Noah* the *Universal Father* and *Monarch*, sent of his *Sons*, and their *Issue* into several *Countries*, and *Emanipated* them, by which they became *Distinct* and *Independent Kingdoms* and *Nations*.

4. But because this wou'd have been a *Dis-Inheriting* of his *Eldest Son* and *Heir*, and so an *Alteration* of the *Right*



*Right of the Patriarchat*; which it is  
 suppos'd *Instituted* at first by *God*, and  
 to have obtain'd without Interruption,  
 from the Beginning of the World,  
 when it was Largely *Peopl'd* before  
 the *Flood*: And that it Might be Made  
 a Question, Whether *Noah*, without  
 a Particular Command from *God*  
 (which do's not Appear) cou'd have  
 Alter'd the *Original Institution* of Go-  
 vernment? And Whether that cou'd  
 have Precluded his *Eldest Son* of his  
*Right of Succession* and his *Heirs*, &c?  
 Therefor Others thought, That the  
*Division* of the *World* into *Nations*  
 which is Recorded in the xth of  
*Gene.* to be done at one time, whence  
*Peleg* had his Name, must have been,  
 The immediate Act of *God* himself,  
 And was Perform'd by a Great and  
 Stupendious *Miracle*, the *Division* of  
*Tongues*; Whereby was Determin'd  
 Who and Who shou'd go to Com-  
 pose each *Nation*, all they of the same  
*Language* sorting together: And *God*  
 Appointing the *Governor* over Each  
 of them: As it is Written, *Ecclus*  
 xvii 17. *For in the Division of the Nati-*  
*ons of the whole Earth, He set a Ruler*  
*over every People.* That the Names of  
 all these, and of their *Countries*, are  
 Distinctly set down *Gen. x.* of the Sons  
 of *Japheth*, 14. of *Ham*, 30. and of  
*Shem*, 26. in all 70. Into so many  
 Languages

*Languages and Nations* was the World then Divided.

And as God do's all things with Respect to his Church, so in this most Remarkable Revolution, there was a Particular Regard had by God, as to this Number of 70, to the Number of the Children of Israel that went down long after into Egypt, which are all Recorded Gen. xlv. the Sons of *Leab*, 33. of *Zilpah*, 16. of *Rachel* 14. and of *Bilhab* 7. in all 70. And this is Particularly Insisted upon, in the Song of *Moses*, as a Remarkable Instance of God's having always an Eye to His Church, His *Peculium*, in His Ordering of the World. The Whole Creation was made for Her Sake, and Partakes with Her, whether in Her Adversity or Glory. Rom. viij. 19. to 24. All things are Hers, 1 Cor. iij. 22, 23. *Moses* begins his Song with this Respect God had to His Church (then the Nation of Israel) in that Number of the 70 Nations, into which He divided the World after the Flood, Remember the Days of Old (says He to them) Consider the Years of many Generations, ask thy Father, and he will shew thee, thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, When he Separated the Sons of Adam, He set the Bounds of the People according to the Number of the Children of Israel. These were the 70 Children of Israel.

*Israel* that went down to *Egypt*, Answering to the 70 Nations after the Flood. And some of these Kingdoms and Cities retain the same Name to this Day, as *Babylon*, the Beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom, and *Assyria* from *Ashur*, &c.

That from *Nimrod*, who in Profane History is called *Belus*, every King's Name and their Succession stand upon Record thro' the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman Monarchies*; and from the Division of the last into the *East* and *Western Empires*, to the present *Emperor of Germany*, and *Sultan at Constantinople*.

That the same is to be said of other Nations, tho' being less Famous, the Records may not be kept, nor their Memory preserv'd in History.

That tho' there has been Many Convulsions and Revolutions in these States, yet the Power was Always taken up by the Strongest of the Contending Parties: And never let fall so Low as the Free and Equal Vote of All the People: No, Nor of All the Fathers of Families. To which no Conquerour ever did Submit his Title.

But however, Norwithstanding of these Different Opinions concerning the Original of the Political Government, yet All Agreed in this, That

the *Commission* and *Extent* of it did Reach only to *this World*. For that in the *Other*, there are no *Distinctions* or *Representatives* of *Nations*. And every *Man's Death* Dissolves his Relation to an *Earthly Kingdom*. And therefore *Political Government* is call'd *Earthly, Secular, or Temporal Government*, because it Operats only in this *World*.

II. Then the Discourse turn'd to Consider the *Original, End, and Design* of the other *Society*, call'd the *Church*.

And it was found, That this Lasts for *Ever*. That it is the same *Church* which is in *Heaven*, and upon *Earth*: They are not *Two Churches*, only *Two Parts* of the *Same Church*: The one *Militant*, the other *Triumphant*. For they have Both the Same *Head* and *King*. And those upon *Earth* are Call'd *Fellow Citizens, with the Saints, and of the Household of God*. Eph. ii. 19. Of the same *Family* with those in *Heaven*. Chap. iii. 15. And thus the *Communion of Saints* (which is one of the *Articles* of our *Creed*) Extends not only to the *Saints* upon *Earth*, but to those in *Heaven*, who have *Communion* with Us, and We with them, We Bless *God* for them, and Pray that *with them* we may be *Partakers of the Heavenly Kingdom*. And they



they *Pray* for Us, for our *Consummation* and *Bliss*; And *Rejoice* with Us at Our *Conversion*. Ther is the Same *Sympathie* as betwixt *Members* of the Same *Body*, which have One *Head*, that is, *Christ*.

Hence the *Church*, even upon *Earth*, is Call'd the *Kingdom of God*. And Her *Government* is *Dignify'd* with the same Name as that of the *Heavenly Host*, which is a *Hierarchy*, an *Holy* or *Sacred Government*. It is *Part* of the same *Hierarchy* which is in *Heaven*, as being All of the Same *Family* or *Society*.

And to shew that it is the Same, *Christ* has Promis'd to Ratify in *Heaven* the *Sentence* of the *Church*, when justly inflicted, upon *Earth*. And the Chief Effect of the Power of the *Church* Extends to the Other World. And will be there Exercis'd even over the *Angels*, as well as over all this World. i Cor. vi. 2. 3.

The *Saints* shall sit there as *Judges*: The *Angels* only as *Ministers* of the Court, and *Executioners*,

So that the *Church* is more strictly a Part of the *Heavenly Hierarchy*, than the Different Orders of *Cherubin* and *Seraphin*, *Angels*, and *Arch-Angels* &c.

And with Great Reason. Because Her *Head*, Her *Flesh* and *Blood* is made

*Lord* of all these. These are not *Members* of His *Body*, of His *Flesh*, and of His *Bone*. For He took not on Him the *Nature* of *Angels*, but He took upon Him the *Seed* of *Abraham*.

Gen. xxviii  
12

This is the *Ladder* which was shewn unto *Jacob*, whose *Foot* stood upon the *Earth*; but the *Top* Reached up to *Heaven*.

Thus the *Foot* of the *Hierarchy* stands upon the *Earth*, Exercis'd by *Men* who are *Ministers* of *Christ's Kingdom* here Below: But the *Top* Reaches to *Christ* Himself, who is the *Head* of it: And the *Angels* of *God* Ascend and Descend upon it, to Execute His *Supreme Commands*: And to *Minister* to the *Meanest Member* of it.

So that who are not *Subjects* to this *Hierarchy* upon *Earth*, cannot be in *Heaven*. We must go up the *Ladder* by *Degrees*, from the *Lower* to the *Higher Steps*.

And the Attempt of those who go about to *Lessen* the *Authority*, and *Under-Mine* the *Foundation* of this *Hierarchy* is like his who *Cut* the *Bough* whereon himself was standing: It is a pulling out the *Steps*, and *Dis-jointing* of that *Ladder* by which we must *Climb* to *Heaven*. Unless we can find a *New way* of our *Own* thither, which *God* has not *Appointed*.

That

That *God*, by his Infinit Power, may not bring any to *Heaven*, without going up this *Ladder*, we must not Determine: Nor Tye *God* to those *Rules*, to which He has Ty'd Us. His *Mercy* is over all His *Works*. And He will not Judge those by the *Law*, who have *Rom. ii. 12.* not the *Law*.

But this we must say, That He has shewn to Us no Other *Way*. And has made no *Promise* in the *Gospel* to Any who are not in that *Way*. That therefore none other are *within* the *Covenant* of the *Gospel*: Nor have *Right* to *Claim* the *Privileges* of those who are *within* the *Pale* of the *Church*. That therefore we must Leave these who are *without*, to the *Un-Covenanted* Mercies of *God*. Which what they are, or how far they will Extend, We know not. But this we are sure of, That the *Privileges* of being within the *Covenant* of *Grace* are *Inestimable*: Else *Christ* had not taken upon Him our *Flesh*, *Suffer'd*, *Dy'd*, and *Descended* into *Hell* to Purchase them for Us.

And this we must say farther, That whatever the Condition be of those who know not the *Gospel*, and so were never within the *Pale* of the *Church*: The Case is not the same with those who *Reject* the *Gospel*, when *Preach'd* to them. Who seem to be the only Persons meant, *Mar. xvi. 15. 16.* The

Case is not the same with those who are Justly Cast out of the *Church* : Or who Wilfully Cast themselves out, by departing from the *Church*.

*Christ* has given Power to the *Terrestrial Hierarchy* to Exclude from the *Cæstial* : For indeed they are the same, as has been said, of which *He himself* and None other is the *Head*. And whoever is *Head* of the *One*, must also be so of the *Other*, since both are the *Same*,

Here was Recollected what was before spoken of the *Popes* Assuming to be *Head* of the Whole *Terrestrial Hierarchy*. And *Gregory* the Great was vindicated, who compar'd this to the *Pride* of *Lucifer*, and made it a Mark of *Anti-Christ*.

But how much more *Abhorrent* and *Heterogeneous* did it look, for those who had no *Share* at all in the *Hierarchy*, for the *Political* or *Civil Government* to take upon them the *Supremacy* over the *Hierarchy* of the *Church*, in the *Exercise* of her purely *Spiritual* Power and Authority!

The *Civil Government* ! Whose *Constitution* and *Authority* is *Temporary* and *Transient*. Which must End and be Extinguished for Ever : While the *Church* shall *Reign* and be *Triumphant* to all *Eternity*.

And



And so long shall Her *Censures*, when Justly Pass'd, have their *Effect*. How then can they be *Alter'd* or *Transvers'd*, *Suspended* or *Superseded* by a *Temporal* Government that must Vanish and come to Nothing ! By such *Governours*, who are themselves Subject to Her *Censures*, as Much as any other ( but without any *Infraction* upon their *Civil* Authority ) Who are Admitted *Members* of Her *Society*, as others are, by *Baptism*, and no otherwise : And may Fall from thence, by *Apostacy*, *Heresie* and such *Crimes* as Cut others off.

And it was said, That as the *Church* was Ordain'd to last for *Ever* : So its *Foundations* were laid from *Eternity*. It is said to have been Given Us, and Ordain'd before the *World* began, i Cor. ii. 7. ii. Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2. i Pet. i. 20. And that God hath Chosen Us from the *Beginning*. ii Thes. ii. 13. And the Gospel is call'd The *Everlasting* Covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.

Therefor the *Church* is not only the *Chief* Part of the *Creation* : But all the whole *Creation*, as well in *Heaven* as on *Earth* seems to be *Particularly* Design'd with Respect to the *Church*, and for Her *Service* and *Advantage* : And to Sympathize with Her, as well in Her State of *Humiliation* as *Exaltation*. The *Angels* of *Heaven*

Rom. viii.  
19, &c.

were given unto Her for *Ministring Spirits*. And are said to be our *Fellow Servants*, and *Brethren* that have the *Testimony of Jesus*. Rev. xix. 10. And it is said, *That the Whole Creation Groaneth and Travaieth in Pain together, waiting for the Manifestation of the Sons of God*. Because (then) the *Creature* it self also shall be *Delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God*. And this is called, *The Earnest Expectation of the Creature*. That as the *Earth* was *Cursed* for the *Sin of Man*: So in the *Redemption* by *Christ*, it should be *Deliver'd* from that *Curse*. Therefor the Prophet *Isaiah* Describing the *Restoration*, of the *Church*, speaks of *New-Heavens* and a *New Earth*. *Isai.* lxxv. 17. And the *Apostle* says, That upon the final *Consummation* of the *Church*, ther will be a *Restoration*, or farther *Reconciliation* of things in *Heaven*, as well as upon *Earth*. *Eph.* i. 10. *Col.* i. 20 And that in the mean time, even *Now*, as the *Angels* do *Minister* unto the *Church*, so they do *Learn* Many things of the *Wisdom of God* from the *Church*. *Eph.* iii. 10.

That God, from the beginning of the *Creation*, did *Erect* His *Church*, and *Preserv'd* Her, as a *Visible Distinct Society* (tho' a *Small* one, in its *Infancy*) from all the *Rest* of the *World*,  
in

in the *Patriarchal Dispensation* before the *Flood*, and to *Moses*.

Afterwards, in the Nation of the *Jews*, under the *Law*.

Till the *Heir* did come, our *B. Lord Jesus Christ*, who brought in the *Fulness of the Gentiles*, Opening the *Pale of His Church* to the *Believers of All Countreys, Nations, and People*.

That *God* Express'd the Great *Re-*  
gard he had for His *Church*, and  
which We ought to have for Her  
*Power and Authority*, by that *Won-*  
drous *Name*, which He Himself did  
Bestow upon Her, the *Name of Israel*, *Gen. xxxii.*  
that is, a *Prince of God*, or one that <sup>28.</sup>  
*Prevails over God*; as *God* Himself *En-*  
larges upon it, and gives the Reason,  
*For as a Prince hast thou Power with God*  
*and with Men, and hast Prevail'd.*  
*CHRIST* condescended to *Wrestle*, and  
suffer Himself to be *Overcome* by  
Him after whom he Nam'd His  
*Church*.

That to Purchase this *Church*, and  
gather Her, as a *Distinct Society*, from  
amongst all the other *Societies* and  
*Nations* of the *Earth*, *Christ* was *Con-*  
tent to take our *Nature* upon Him, and  
suffer *Death* for Her *Redemption*. She  
is call'd *His Body, the Fullness of Him*, *Eph. i. 23.*  
*who filleth all in all. The Pillar and*  
*Ground of the Truth.* All the *Worthy* <sup>i Tim. iii.</sup>  
*Members* of this *Society* are *Heirs of* <sup>15.</sup>  
*God*.

**Rem. viii.** *God, and Joint-Heirs with Christ.*  
**17.** And Christ has Promis'd to Give them

**Rev. ii.** *Power over the Nations, to Rule them*  
**26. 27.** *with a Rod of Iron, even as I (says he)*  
*Received of my Father. And to sit with*

**Chap. iii.** *me in my Throne, even as I also overcame*  
**21.** *and am set down with my Father in His*  
*Throne. Nay more, which None Durst*

**Luk. xii.** *Express, or so much as Imagin, if he*  
**37.** *had not said it, That He will gird Him-*  
*self, and make them to sit down to Meat,*  
*and will come forth and Serve them.*

**Eph. v. 30.** *That they are Members of His Body,*  
*of His Flesh, and of His Bones. That*

**John xvii.** *they all (said he) may be One, as*  
**21. 22. 23.** *Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee;*  
*That they also may be One in Us, that*  
*the World may believe that Thou hast sent*  
*Me. And the Glory which Thou gavest*  
*Me, I have given them; that they may*  
*be One, even as we are One: I in*  
*them, and Thou in Me, that they may be*  
*made Perfect in One; and that the World*  
*may know, that Thou has sent Me,*  
*and hast Loved them, as Thou hast*  
*Lov'd Me.*

**1 Pet. ii. 9.** *That they are a Chosen Generation, a*  
*Royal Priesthood, an Holy Nation, a Pe-*  
*culiar People.*

*Whom God keepeth as the Apple of his*  
*Eye. And their Death is Precious in*  
*his Sight. Psal. Cxvi. 15. Tho' they*  
*Fall, they shall not be cast away, for*  
*God upholdeth them with his hand.*  
*Psal. xxxvii. 24. Ther*



Ther shall not an Hair of their  
Heads perish. Luk. xxi. 18.

They are God's Jewels. Mal. iii.  
17.

They shall Judge.  
the World.

They shall Judge } 1 Cor. vi. 2. 3.  
Angels.

[Then as to the Authority of the  
Church in this World,]

If he Neglect to Hear the Church,  
let him be unto thee as an Heathen-  
Man and a Publican. Matth. xviii. 17.

[Of the Church with Relation to the  
State.]

He Reproved KINGS for their  
sakes, saying, Touch not my ANOIN-  
TED, and do my PROPHETS  
no harm, Psal. Cv. 14. 15.

For he that toucheth you, toucheth  
the Apple of his Eye. Zach. ii. 8.

KINGS shall be thy Nourishers, and  
QUEEENS thy Nurses: They shall  
Bow down to thee with their Face to-  
ward the Earth, and Lick up the Dust  
of thy Feet. Isai. xlix. 23.

The Sons of Strangers shall Build up  
thy Walls; And their KINGS shall  
MINISTER unto thee. Chap. lx. 10.

Thou shalt suck the Milk of the  
Gentiles, and shalt suck the Breast of  
KINGS. Ver. 16.

The

The Sons also of them that Afflicted thee, shall come Bending unto thee; and all they that Despised thee, shall Bow themselves down at the Soles of thy Feet, and they shall call thee, The City of the Lord, the Zion of the holy One of Israel. *Ver. 14.*

Therefor thy Gates shall be Open continually, they shall not be shut Day nor Night, That Men may bring unto thee the Forces of the Gentiles, and that their KINGS may be brought, For the Nation and Kingdom that will not SERVE thee shall Perish; Yea those Nations shall be utterly Wasted. *Ver.*

11. 12.

Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God. *Psal, lxxxvii. 3.*

This is the *Church*, which in all things, in its *Original, Constitution, Frame*, and *End* for which it was Design'd, do's far Excel that *Society* call'd the *State*.

And all *States* do, in *Words*, give the *Pre-eminence* to the *Church*. It is not said *State* and *Church*; but always *Church* and *State*.

And the *Stile* (that is all) of *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Remains still. Tho' I have seen it wrote *Lords Temporal* and *Spiritual*, particularly in the *Printed Lists* of the *Convention*, in the Beginning of this *Revolution*, And in All the *Lists* since, the *Spiritual Estate*, tho' it is

is the *First* of the *three Estates* in *Our*,  
as in every other *Constitution*, yet is  
put behind all the *Lay-Lords*: And the  
*Mitre* comes after their *Coronets*. As  
if a *Parchment* from an *Earthly King*,  
which he may *Bestow* upon his *Foot-*  
*Man*, many have been worse *Bestow'd*,  
upon more *Ignoble Creatures*, *Dukes*  
and *Dutchesses* in *Abundance*, who, in-  
stead of *Ermin*, shou'd have been  
*Dress'd* in *Sack cloth*, had ther been  
any *Disciplin* in the *Church*: Yet were  
*Receiv'd* by their *Fellow-Nobility*, as  
their *Peers*; Whereas they were *Un-*  
*Worthy* the *Conversation* of the *Meanest*  
*Christian*, and ought not to be *Admitted*  
to it, till they had *Begg'd* for it, in the  
*Stool of Repentance*; I say, That such  
*Patents of Honour* shou'd be thought  
*More Estimable*, and of *Higher Dignity*,  
even when *Worn* by those who were  
*Worthy* of it, than the *Commission* which  
*Christ* *Purchased* with His *Blood*, and  
*Gave* to Those *He Sent* into All the  
*World*, as His *Father* had sent *Him*!

But this is One of our *Modern Im-*  
*provements*! For in our *Fore-Fathers*  
time, And in All *Countrys* and *Ages*,  
the *Mitre* stood next to the *Crown*, e-  
ven in the *Civil-Constitution*. And that,  
Not only upon the Head of one *Arch*,  
but of Every *Bishop*.

Now because it wou'd look so  
*Præposterous*, and against the *Com-*  
*mon*

mon Sentiments of Mankind, especially of *Christians*, not to give the *Church* the Preference to the *State*: Therefore *Kings* have taken upon them to be *Heads* of the *Church* within their own *Dominions*. And because this look'd *Heterogeneous* in the Hands of a mere *Lay-Man* who might not be a *Member* of that *Church*, therefore *Kings* were made of an *Amphibious* Nature, and Complemented with the Title of *Mixta Persona* a *Hermaphrodite*, half *Lay*, and half *Clergy*. And the *Nobility* got in too under the New Invention of *Lay-Elders*, as now in *Scotland*, and Govern all the Affairs of the *Church*.

And Considering how they have (by these means) *Reduc'd* Her *Commission* and *Authority*, it can be Attributed to nothing but the *Wonderful* and *Over-Ruling* PROVIDENCE, that there is so much Left, as that *Shadow* of a *Church* that is Left! Or any, tho' but *Outward* and *Seeming* REVERENCE, pay'd to *Sacraments* or other *Institutions* of *Religion*, that are *Administred* by Her hands! Or that the *Administration* of them shou'd be still left in Her hands! Tho' that is not done by All. That our *Churches* shou'd be frequented or kept in Repair, where the *Major* and more *Prevailing Number* wou'd wish them under



under Ground ! But in such Instances as these God is wont to shew His Power. As He plac'd the Sand for a Bound to the Sea, that tho' it Rage and Swell, yet is limited by the DECREE, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther, Here shall thy Proud Waves be stay'd.*

Nothing but this cou'd have Restrain'd that Spirit of *Atheism, Deism, Fanaticism, and Prophaness*, that Rages without Human Control.

And the Church is laid as Low and Fenceless as the Sand under their Storms : Which had long since Overwhelm'd the City of God (after the Change of Her Governours ) if the Almighty Promise, *Matth. xvi. 18. xxviii. 20.* had not Interpos'd to Preserve some Embers alive in the Midst of these Torrents. And they will be Preserv'd till the Time Appointed by God shall come, when His Breath shall put New Life in them, to Lick up that Sea that now Covers, but Cannot Drown them.

*Tho' the Waters thereof Roar, and be Troubled, and the Mountains Shake at the Tempest of the same: The Rivers of the Flood thereof shall make Glad the City of God. The Persecutors and Oppressors of the Church shall be Converted; And their Rage, like that of the Sea, against Her, shall turn into Humility and Love to Her, like smooth Gentle*

Psal. xlv.  
3, 4, 5.

tle Streams to Refresh and Nourish Her  
For GOD is in the midst of Her; She  
shall not be moved: God shall help Her  
when the Morning appeareth.

This is the City the Society over  
which the Temporal Governments of the  
Earth have Assum'd the Dominion  
And have said, Let us Break their Bands  
asunder, and Cast away their Cords from  
Us. Psal. ii. 3.

Be Wise now therefore, O ye Kings  
And Consider, Lest while nothing less  
will serve you than to be Heads of  
this Society, you cease to be Members  
For what is that Member, that will  
be Head!

And let not so Weak a thought arise  
in your Minds, as if all this were  
only the self-seeking of the Clergy, out  
of Pride to advance themselves. Alas,  
It must have the Quite Contrary Ef-  
fect with any of them who Consider  
what an Heavy Charge they have un-  
dertaken: And what Account will be  
Exacted from them for their faithful  
Discharge of it! That the Blood of all  
those Souls who Perish thro' their Neg-  
ligence or Default will be Requir'd at  
their hands! That they have to Wrestle  
not only against Flesh and Blood, but  
against Principalities and Powers, against  
the Rulers of the Darkness of this  
World, against Wicked Spirits that are  
fe

Eph. vi. 12.

set up in *High-Places*. And whoever Opposes *These*, with that *Truth* and *Freedom*, that is Necessary instead of *Honour*, must expect *Reproach* and *Persecution*. Of which it is not the least, That they cannot Vindicate the *Honour* of *CHRIST's Commission*, without being thought to seek their own *Glory*. Yet that must not Hinder. The *Successors* of the *Holy Apostles* must be Content to Pass, as they did, thro' *Evil Report* and *Good Report*, as *Deceivers*, and yet *True*.

They must not, to save Themselves from *Reproach*, let *Religion* go to *Wrack*; Expose the *Commission* of *Christ* to be *Trampled* upon; *Divest* themselves of the proper *Arms* of their *Ministry*; And suffer the *Devil*, without Opposition, to Ravish out of their Hands those *Souls*, for which their *Souls* must Answer. If they must *Resist* even unto *Blood*, they ought not to *Shrink* for a little *Shame*. Such a *Modesty* wou'd be *Pride*, a Poor Impotent *Pride*. A more *Guilty* and *Shameful* *Pride*, than that ( whereof they are very *Un-justly* Accused ) of *Asserting* their *Authority*, and not laying it under the Feet of *Great Men*, for *Popularity* sake ! No *Pride* so *Dangerous*, so *Hateful*, as a *Proud-Humility*. Such a *Sneaking*, *Treacherous Humility* do's not become the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*. But such a *Humility*, as with the *Greatest*

*Modesty*, can set its *Face* as a *Flint*, for the *Truth* of the *Gospel*, and shew the *Utmost Courage*, without any *Degree* of *Impudence*; Can keep up its *Zeal*, without *Rage*; Preserve its *Sweetness*, in the midst of its *Reproofs*; And either *Suffer* or *Overcome* with *Decency*: That can Support the *Honour* and *Authority* which *Christ* has Annexed to His *Priesthood*, so as to make it *Evident*, that it is more for the *Good* of *Others*, and out of a *True Concern* for their *Souls*, than any *Vain-Glory* to *Themselves*: That it is only to Enable them to *Serve* their *Flocks* the more *Effectually*, towards their *Eternal Salvation*; without which they will not be *Able* to do it: But render *Religion* *Contemptible*; and make you *Despise* those *Means* of *Grace*, to which are Annex'd the *Promises* of *God*, and our *Hopes* of *Glory*.

*Christ* left no more *Power* with His *Church* than He knew was *Necessary*. And for *Her* or *You* to make it *Less*, will be but to *Defraud* your selves, and *Render* it *Ineffectual* to you. As *St. Cyprian* said, *Ep. 73. p. 209. It is a Most Dangerous thing, in Divine Matters, for any to Recede from his full Power and Authority.* Therefor be not *Afraid* of this *Power*, which is made so *Great* by *God*, that it may do you the more *Good*. You ought rather to *Wish* it *Greater*



*Greater.* For if the *Church* have not this *Power*, what Good can you Receive from Her Administrations? You ought to *Rejoyce* to *Serve* the *Church*, the *Spouse* of *Christ*, that She may *Serve* you in your *Eternal* Concerns. And the *Honour* is done to *Christ*, and not to Her. For whose sake You your Selves are Honoured. Who has given you all the *Power* that you have. Therefor Grudge not what He has given to others for your Good.

When *Angels* are Content, nay *Glo-*  
*ry* to be made *Ministring Spirits*, to *Min-*  
*ister* to the *Church*; do not You think it *Below* Your *Dignity*!

Nor to Learn of those, *By whom the*  
*Manifold Wisdom* of *God* is Made known  
to the *Principalities* and *Powers* in *Hea-*  
*venly* places. Eph. iii. 10.

YOU your selves, and *All things* were  
Ordain'd for the *Church*. For *God*  
has given *CHRIST* to be the *Head* over  
*All things*, to the *CHURCH*. Eph. i.  
22.

*CHRIST* Himself, Your *KING* and  
*GOD*, will not think it *Below* His *In-*  
*finite* *MAJESTY*, to Gird Himself;  
and Come forth and Serve them, Up-  
on Whom You now Trample, and  
Count them as the *Dung* of the *Earth*.

They are willing to be Your *Ser-*  
*vants*, that they may do you Good.  
It is not their own *Honour*, but that

of *Christ* which they seek. As the  
 ii Cor. iv. *Apostle* speaks, *For we Preach not our*  
 5. *selves, but Christ Jesus the Lord: And*  
*our selves your Servants for Jesus sake.*

## XXI.

*Steps that*  
*have been*  
*made to-*  
*wards the*  
*Reformati-*  
*on propos'd.*

Here one desir'd that we wou'd take  
 Notice, What *Steps* have already been  
 Made, on Both sides, by the *Secret* and  
*All-Ruling PROVIDENCE* of *GOD*,  
*Leading and Inclining* Men, by Degrees,  
*Insensibly* Nearer and Nearer towards  
 such a *Glorious Reformation* as has been  
 before Propos'd.

I. First, on our side. The *Regale* a-  
 mong us has much *Vary'd* and *Les-*  
*sen'd* from the Height in which it was  
 set up by *Hen. viii.* In which very  
 time, while they were stretching the  
*Regale* to the utmost, yet, they cou'd  
 not Refrain to Confess to the Truth,  
 and Assert the *Spiritual Rights* of the  
*Church*, as shewn *Sect. ix.* Till at Last  
 they have Come *Fully* and *Truly* to Ex-  
 plain it in our 37th *Article* of *Re-*  
*ligion.* But to name some Particu-  
 lars.

I.  
*Regal*  
*Commis-*  
*sions.*

As to those *Regal Commissions* before  
 Mentioned p. 61. Whereby *Bishops*  
 then held their *Bishopricks*, and *Eccle-*  
*siastical Authority*, during the *Kings*  
*Pleasure Only.* These are long since  
 Worn out of Date. And are now  
Detested

*Detested* by all the *Clergy* of *England*.  
And no more *Insisted* upon by the  
*State*.

The *Office* of the *King's Vice-Gerent*  
in *Ecclesiastical* Affairs *Surviv'd* not<sup>2.</sup>  
the Person to whom it was first *Gran-* *The King's*  
*ted*, but was *Beheaded* with him. Such *Vice-Ge-*  
a *Novel Monstrous Composition* was not *rent in Ec-*  
*Long Liv'd*. Once *Shewn*, then *Hated* and *clesiasti-*  
*Despis'd*. *cals*.

Then again, the *Writ* of *Conge d'*  
*Eslier* was taken away by *Act* of *Par-* <sup>3.</sup>  
*liament*, 1 *Edw. vi. c. 2.* as too Great *Conge d'*  
an *Encroachment* upon the *Regale*. *Eslier*,  
But our *Kings* are grown *Asham'd* of  
that. And still continue the *Method*  
of the *Conge d' Eslier*, tho' let Loose  
from it by the *Law*.

Then in the beginning of the  
Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. The *Title* <sup>4.</sup> *Title of*  
of *Head* of the *Church* was taken *Head of*  
from the *Crown*, as is *Shew'd* before *the Church*  
*Sect. ix.* *taken a-*  
*way*.

The *Ecclesiastical Commission* which  
the *King* was *Impowr'd* to set up <sup>5.</sup>  
1 *Eliz.* was taken away by *Act* of *Ecclesia-*  
*Parliament*. 17 *Car. c. xi.* And *Re-* *stical*  
*mains Exploded* to this Day. *Commis-*  
*sion*.

*King James I.* (as *Dr Guthry Bi-* <sup>6.</sup>  
*shop* of *Dunkell* tells us in his *Ms. K. James*  
*History of the late Rebellion and Covenant*) 1. in *Scot-*  
*Us'd* this *Method* in *Scotland*, That *land*.  
when any *Bishop* Died, the *Arch Bi-*  
*shop*

shop Conven'd his fellow *Bishops*, and they Gave in to the *King* the Names of *Three* Persons, whom they Judg'd Most fit, out of whom the *King* Chose One into the *Vacant See*. But his Son *K. Char. I.* did not observe this, but Resum'd the *Regale*, in its full Extent, and kept the *Election* Solely in Himself; Which the *Bishop* takes Notice of as One Great Cause that brought on his *Troubles*, and the *Confusion* first begun in that Kingdom. He Came Young to the *Crown*, and was not Proof against *Flatterers* who wou'd Aggrandize his *Prerogative*; Besides that this Point was not so fully Considered in those Times. *Erastianism* having run down like a *Torrent*, from the *Reformation*: And they were but Few who could Recover themselves, to Reflect Impartially against the *Prejudice* of *Education*, and *Popularity*. The *Regale* being then Made (tho' very Unjustly) the *Characteristick* against *Pope-ry* and *Fanaticism*. That being Suppos'd the Only *Barrier* against Both. Not Imagining, in their *Heavenly-Moon*, that ever they shou'd have a *King*, in either of these *Interests*. Or that their *Cannon* cou'd be Turn'd upon themselves.

Therefor it was no Great Wonder, that a Young and Un-experienc'd Prince shou'd



thou'd, at the first, be Carry'd down  
a Popular Stream.

But he made Great Amends afterwards. He set himself for the *Rescue* of the *Church* from the *Encroachments* of the *Secular Courts*, and *Eraastian Laws*. Which was Made a Handle by *Designing-men* to stir up the *Rebellion* against him. And he is Justly Enroll'd among the *Noble-Army* of *Martyrs*. His *Mercy* was his *Ruin*, for which he was Call'd a *Tyrant*. All whom the *People* overcome are so, because they never lay the Fault upon Themselves. Thus they charg'd upon this Pious Prince all the *Blood* that Themselves had *Shed*, and the *War* which they *Began* against Him; And not *He* against *Them*; which Appears by the *Dates* of their *Respective Commissions* for *Levy*ing their *Armies*.

The *Spirit* of those Times, and the *Disposition* of that Prince seem fitted to shew the World, How far a *Gracious King* can condescend to a *Mutinous* and *Rebellious Party*: And how Impossible it is, by such *Lenity*, to overcome them. It is like giving passage to the *Water*, which thereby Increase to a *Deluge*. The *Prevention* is *Easy* at the *Beginning*, before a *Drop* Grow to be a *River*, and that *River* become a *Sea*.

But the *Methods* by which this KING's *Mildness* Suffer'd that *Rebellion* to Grow upon him, was not the Subject of our Discourse. It suffic'd Us to know, That God's time was not then come for the *Deliverance* of his Church. But that *Glory* is Reserv'd for Another.

Tho' *David* Design'd and Made *Preparation* for the *Building* of the *Temple*, yet that was Determin'd for Another and more *Peaceable Reign*.

8.  
K. Ch. 2.

Then it was observ'd by some in the Company, That even in the *Reign* of K. *Char. II.* a *Commission* was Granted to some *Bishops* and Others to Dispose of such *Church-Livings* as were in the *King's Gift*, which were above the *Value* of those that are Committed to the Disposal of whoever Carries the *Great Seal*. There was something of *Consciousness*, at least *Decencie* in the Case.

But ther was a much more Remarkable Instance in his Reign, in *Scotland*. In the Year 1669, An *Act of Parliament* was made there, Call'd the *Affertory Act*, which *Afferted* the *Regale* very High. And by Vertue of which the *Arch Bishop* of *Glasgow* Dr. *Burnet*, was *Depriv'd*. But I am told no other put into his Place, but the *Bishoprick* kept in

*Commen-*

*Commendam*, and Dr. *Leighton* to whom the King Gave it, onely Stil'd *Commendator* of *Glasgow*, till by some Means or other, a *Resignation* was Procur'd from *Arch-Bishop Burnet*. However, the then *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and other *Bishops* of *England*, Considering how far such *Precedents* might Extend, Interposed with their full Might ; Nor did they Leave it, till they had the *Arch-Bishop* Restored.

But that which I am coming to is this. After this *Affertory Act*. A *Test* was put to the Scots *Episcopal Clergy*, which Ty'd them to Maintain All the King's Privileges, &c. Granted by *Act of Parliament* : By this Means, seeking to Draw them in to the Acknowledgement of this *Affertory Act*, which set up the King's Supremacy over the Church. But they were Aware of the Snare ; And had the *Christian Courage* to Refuse that *Test* ; for which some of them were *Depriv'd*.

But they *Persisted*, and Prepar'd themselves, to Suffer the Last Extremities, rather than Betray the Rights of *Christ's Church*. They Rid out the Storm. And they Prevail'd. As others wou'd do, if they Try'd it. The *Inherent Rights* of the Church are so *Flagrant*, that a *Christian State* will hardly *Inva*de them, but where they are Tamely Given up. The King seeing the Clergy Resolute to

to Suffer, and to *Assert* their Rights, found he cou'd not Bear the Odium, nor was Able to Maintain his Claim. Therefor a Declaration was Publish'd by King and Council ( which in the Intervals of Parliament has there the Force of a Law ) Wherein they Renounced All Pretences to the Intrinsic Power of the Church; And left intirely to Her, All the Ecclesiastical Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction Exercis'd by the Church for the 3 first Centuries, Which being the Whole that cou'd be Ask'd, the Breach was made up. And the Depriv'd Clergy were Restor'd. And by this, All the *Erastian* Teeth of that *Assertory Act* were Drawn out.

9.  
At Pre-  
sent.

But that it might never Bite more, it was formally Repeal'd, by the Present Parliament there. Sess. 2. Lord Melvil Commissioner. Which shews what others might do, who have Greater Power and Advantages than they. For it is not to be suppos'd but that the same Justice and Right to the Church wou'd be done, where the Bishops and Clergy are more Considerable, are nearer to the Court, and of more Use to it; If that has not Corrupted their Principles, or Abated their Zeal; like St. Peter, whose Courage left him, when he had once Warm'd himself at the Fire of the Palace. Ther are Some, who



who will Profess, with as much *Assurance* as He; That they are Ready to Go not onely to *Prison* but to *Death* for *Asserting* the *Truth* of the *Gospel*, And the *Divine* Rights of the *Pillar* and *Ground* of it, without which it cannot stand, that is, the *Church*: But if a *Servant* at *Court*, Ask them, Are you for setting up that full *Authority*, which *Christ* Left with His *Church*? Will be Ready to *Tremble*, and *Cry*, *I know not the Man*. We have no *King* but *Cæsar*. He that wou'd set up *Divine Rights*, is no *Friend* to *Prerogative*! But to proceed.

The *Commission* before mentioned of *King Charles II.* for the *Disposal* of *Church Preferments* is much *Improv'd* since; Particularly in this, That Now, None but *Bishops* are in that *Commission*. None of the *Lay-Lords* or *Others* Mixt with them, as it was in the time of *King Charles II.* And More-over, The *Recommendation* even to *Bishopricks* is likewise Committed to these *Bishops*. This indeed is a *Step* farther. These are some of the *Advances* have been Made, on our side, towards the *Freedom* of the *Church*. Which Plainly shew Where the *Right* do's Lie.

Then the Company were desirous to Turn and see what *Advances* had been Made on the *Other side*, on the

II.  
*Advances made on*  
Part

*the part of  
the Church  
of Rome.*

Part of the Church of Rome, for Reducing the Pontificat as Much as We have done the Regale. And it was found, That they have Gone farther in this, than We have done in the Other.

i.  
*As to the  
Bishops  
and Secu-  
lar Cler-  
gy.*

Here was Call'd to Mind what was said before Concerning the Opposition Given at the Council of Trent by the Bishops and Secular Clergy, to the Pope and the Regulars, as to that High Supremacy over All other Bishops, which the Pope did Claim. And this was thought the Surest Indication we can have of the Sentiments of the Generality of the Bishops and Secular Clergy, in Communion with the Church of Rome, as well those in Spain, Germany, Hungary, and All the Popish Countries, not excepting Italy it self, as of those in France, who have been most Remarkably Zealous in this Matter.

And from hence we may suppose it was, That even in that Council ther is a fair Door open'd for Restoring the Ancient Rights of Provincial Councils. Where Power is given to them, or rather Recogniz'd to be in them, And in every Bishop in his own Diocess, to Regulat all Matters that shall be Necessary, as well over All Ministers in the Church, as to Prescribe such Forms in  
Worship

*Worship and Manners as they shall judge Necessary for the Benefit of Each Province. Take the words more at Large, as you will find them in that Council. Sess. 23. c. 12. Cætera quæ ad debitum in Divinis officiis Regimen Spectant, deque Congrua in Canendi seu Modulandi ratione, de certa lege in Choro Conveniendi, & Permanendi, simulque de omnibus Ecclesiæ Ministris, Quæque Necessaria erunt, & si qua hujusmodi, Synodus Provincialis pro cujusque Provinciæ Utilitate & Moribus certam cuique Formulam prescribet: Interea vero Episcopus non Minus quam cum duobus Canonicis, quorum Unus ab Episcopo, alter a Capitulo eligatur, in iis quæ expedire videbuntur, providere.*

Pursuant to this Right of Provincial Councils, here so far Recogniz'd, <sup>2.</sup>Particu-  
 the Church of France have all along larly in  
 Acted more vigorously and Independent- France.  
 ly upon Rome, than any other of the  
 Churches in her Communion. And from  
 the first Encroachments of the Patriarchat  
 of Rome, gave Battle to it, and kept  
 it within some Moderat Bounds. As  
 appears by the Several Pragmatical  
 Sanctions and Concordats made berwixt  
 their Kings and the Popes.

But that which came most under  
 our Observation (as being the Latest)  
 was the Decrees of the Gallican Cler-

gy met in a *National Synod*: Ann. 1682. which are hereunto Annexed.

In the *Preamble* they Assert the *Liberties* of the *Gallican Church*: Yet Acknowledge a *Primacy* in the *Pope*. But how *Limited* and *Circumscrib'd*, appears in the *Decrees*.

Of which the *First*, Quite takes away his Power in *Temporals*, Especially that which the *Popes* have so often Practis'd, even in *France* (as before mentioned in the *Rebellion* of the *Holy League*) And by which Chiefly they have Secur'd their *Encroachments* of Several Sorts; And which they cannot be brought by any Means to *Disclaim*, that is, The Power to *Depose* *KINGS*, and *Absolve* their *Subjects* from their *Allegiance*.

The *Second* subjects the *Pope* to a *General Council*, even to be *Deposed* by it. As in the 4th and 5th *Sess.* of the *Council* of *Constance* is Enacted, which is Quoted and Confirm'd in the said *Decree*.

In the *Third*, The *Pope's* Power is *Limited* by the *Canons* of the *Church*. And even by the *Constitutions* and *Rules* of the *Gallican Church*.

In the *Fourth*, his *Infallibility*, even in Matters of *Faith*, is Totally taken away, and Disown'd.

And in the *Fifth*, The *Bishops* Assert the *Divine Right* of their *Episcopat*,



*copat*, and Derive their *Power* from None but the *Holy Ghost*. By Vertue of which they Establish these *Decrees*, and Command them to be Receiv'd in all the *Churches* of France.

Then the Discourse turn'd to the *fierce Opposition* made by the *Pope* to these *Decrees*, and how ill they were Resented at *Rome*. And it was said, That a *French Papist* wou'd be Burn'd at *Rome* for an *Heretick*. And were ther but *Few* of them, or *Inconsiderable*, no Doubt they wou'd be *Excommunicated*, with *Maranatha*. For all that Properly can be Call'd *Popery* in the *Popes Supremacy* is hereby pluckt up by the *Roots*.

It was said, That this was as far almost as our *Hen. viii.* ever Went. For he threw off nothing of *Popery* but only the *Pope's Supremacy*. In all other things, he Liv'd and Died a *Papist*. He Burnt those who Deny'd *Tran-substantiation*, And left Money in his *Will*, for Praying his *Soul* out of *Purgatory*.

To this was Added, How much the *Doctrin* of the *Pope's INFALLIBILITY*, <sup>3.</sup> *The Modern* and even the *Height* and *Absoluteness* *Popish* of his *SUPREMACY* had *Abated* since *Writers*, *Bellarmin*, and the *Writers* of those times. That the *Modern Popish Authors*, not only in *France*, but all other

ther *Popish Countries* even *Spain*, and *Italy* it self, have found out a *Lower Sense* in which to take the *High-Flights* of those before them. And if they are *Coming Down*, We may *Meet* in time.

XXII.  
A PRO-  
SPECT,  
How the  
Schism,  
tho' not all  
Differen-  
ces may be  
Ended.

Oh, said One, That this were the Time! When that Terrible *Schism* which has so long Torn the *Western Church* might be Healed! And tho' we cou'd not, in a short time Reconcile our *Differences* upon Particular Points, as of *Transubstantiation*, *Invocation* of *Saints*, *Purgatory*, &c. Yet that Matters cou'd be so Adjusted, that these shou'd Cause no *Schism*, that is, That we might Join together in *Outward Communion*.

And this ( said the Gentleman who Propos'd it ) wou'd not seem to me *Impracticable*, if this One Point were first Gain'd, *viz.* That Every *Bishop*, making himself Free from the *Encroachments* both of the *Pontificat* and the *Regale*, thought himself at Liberty to Act according to his own Conscience, and as he must give an Account to *Christ* the Chief *Shepherd*, in his Own Church, of which he is *Head*, Next and Immediately Under *Christ*; tho' in that *Subordination* to *Metropolitans*, *Primats*, or *Patriarchs* Establish'd by the *Episcopal College* (in Manner before Discours'd)

Discours'd ) for the Better Regulation and Commerce of the Whole; Yet without any *Infracti*on upon the *Plenitude* of every *Bishop's* Power within his own Church.

Then, Continu'd the Proposer, Measuring Others by My Self, if I were a *Bishop* in *France*, and as Zealous for the Particular *Doctrins* of *Rome* as Any: Yet, for so Great a Work as *Healing* of this *Schism*, I wou'd Open my *Communion* as Wide as I cou'd without what I thought a *Sin*. For Example, No *Rom. Catholick* thinks it any *Sin*, to Worship *God* without an *Image* of Him. Or to *Pray* in a *Tongue* I Understand. Or to forbear, at least in *Publick*, and in some *Places*, the *Invocation* of the *Saints*. And the *Adoration* of the *Host*. Or to Give the *Cup* to the *Laity*. I say, barring the *Order* of the Church in such Matters, I am Confident ther is no Understanding *Rom. Catholick* in *France*, or any where else, that wou'd think any of these things to be a *Sin*. Or who wou'd say, But that if the Church Commanded such things to be done, he wou'd Obey.

Well then, Supposing a Particular *Bishop* knowing his Own Authority, shou'd in his Church Remove the *Images*, forbear the *Elevation* of the *Host*, and *Invocation* of *Saints*, Give the *Cup*

to the *Laity*, And have the *Service* in the *Vulgar Tongue*. The *Proposer* Ask'd, What shou'd hinder our *Communion* with such a *Bishop*? As to his Belief of *Transubstantiation*, or *Purgatory*, &c. So it be not *Impos'd* upon Me, neither as to the *Profession* or *Practice* of it, shall the *Difference* of *Opinion* Break *Communion*? And how shall I know his *Opinion*? Ther are Many in the *Communion* of *Rome*, who Believe as Little of these thing as We do. And no Man is bound to Tell, or I to Ask his *Privat Opinion*. Besides if I knew it, how do's it Affect Me? Shall I Refuse the *Communion* of a *Church*, because there are *Wicked* or *Erroneous* Men in it? Then must we needs go out of the *World*.

And on the other hand ( said he ) the *Rom. Catholicks*, will have far less *Scruple* to *Communicat* with Us, because ther is nothing in our *Liturgie* in which they are to Join, but what they Approve of. They may think it *Deficient*, but not in any *Necessary* Point. For such they do not make the *Invocation* of *Saints*, the *Elevation* of the *Host*, or the *Latin* of their *Prayers*, or *Images* to be. And sure the *Laity* will not be Displeas'd to be Restor'd to the Blessing of Receiving the *Cup* in the *H. Sacrament*. He fortify'd this, by shewing, That the *Rom. Catholicks* in *England* Came without



without Scruple to Our Churches in the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, till they were afterwards Forbid by a Bull from the Pope: Who, by this Means, did open the Breach, to Strengthen his Party. For otherwise the Distinction of Protestant and Papist had soon Ceas'd, when they Came to be of one Communion.

That in Queen Mary's time, they did not Re-Ordain those Bishops who had been Ordained by our Book of Ordination in the Reign of Ed. vi.

And that the Pope offered to Queen Elizabeth Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue, the Cup to the Laity, or any thing, if She wou'd but Own his Supremacy.

So that the Supremacy is the only Point at Rome. And were it not for that, other Matters wou'd be Sooner Adjusted, so far at least, as not to Hinder Communion.

That in this most Tender Point of the Supremacy, the Gallican Church are Hereticks as well as We, yet this Breaks no Communion. And what is the Reason? Ther is but One, that is, a Politick, because the Gallican Church are too Great a Body to Disoblige. And the Fate of England has Taught the Court of Rome more Caution, and to Consider the Power and Quality of

those *Hereticks*, whom they adventure to *Excommunicat*.

There is little Doubt, but that if *England* wou'd Return again to Own the *Supremacy* of *Rome* to the Height that the *Popes* do Demand, they wou'd, to Regain such a *Limb* to their *Empire*, Dispense with Giving the *Cup* to the *Laity*, and *Marriage* to our *Clergy*, and our *Prayers* in the *Vulgar Tongue*, as they Offer'd to *Queen Elizabeth*. They wou'd Excuse the *Elevation* of the *Host*, and *Invocation* of *Saints*, and *Pictures* of *God* in the *Churches*, and whatever else stands in the Way to *Hinder* our *Joyning* in *Communion*.

But while we stand out against that *Plenitude* of the *Papal Supremacy* which they Claim, it is not their *Worldly Interest* to Heal the *Breach* of *Communion*. Because that, and that only, keeps up the *Distinction* of *Parties* amongst Us. Few wou'd trouble their Heads with mere *Speculations*, when their *Differences* were not brought into *Practice*. And especially Considering, That they are such *Differences*, which the *Church* of *Rome* her self cannot say, None that are *Moderat* among them will say, That they are *Necessary* to *Salvation*.

And therefor the *Whole* and *Only* *Difference* betwixt Us, I mean that *Hinders* *Communion*, is that *Extent* of the *Pope's Supremacy*, which the *Gallican Church*

*Church* have thrown off as well as We. And if a *Politick* can keep this from making a *Breach of Communion* with them, as much *Charity* in the *Court of Rome* (if they had it) wou'd *Heal* the *Separation* Here. And bring the *Roman Catholics* back again to our *Churches*; which they *Forsook*, not for any Fault they found in our *Liturgie*, or *Worship*: But merely in *Obedience* to a *Bull* from *Pope Pius V.* which had no other End than to keep up his *Supremacy*.

That therefor it is not to be Expected we can persuade the *Pope* to Move towards a *Reconciliation*, which he Alone obstructs: And that Wholly upon *Secular Interests*.

And this the *English Roman Catholics* will Grant, That if the *Pope* gave them Commandment, they wou'd Return to our *Communion* to morrow, notwithstanding of all other *Differences* upon Particular Points. Which they cou'd not in *Conscience* do, if they thought any Part of our *Publick Worship* was *Un-lawful* in it self.

And none will say, That a *Separation* can be Justify'd upon less Grounds than to Avoid Joyning in what is *Un-lawful* in it self.

This makes it Plain, That the Only Cause of their *Separation* from Us, is that *Single Point* of the *Pope's Supremacy*.

There are more Causes of our Separation from their Publick Offices, as Images of the Invisible God in their Churches, Adoration of the Host, the Cup taken from the Laity, Prayers in an Un-known Tongue, and invocation, of Saints and Angels, which Compose Great Part of their Liturgy; And we think to be Contrary to the H. Scriptures, and the Sense and Practice of the Primitive Church. And therefor cannot Joyn in what, if so, is Un-lawful in it self.

But, as said before, the Roman Catholics think it not Un-lawful to Omit these things in the Publick Offices. And therefor it is Lawful for them to Heal the Separation.

And if it be Lawful, then it is Necessary, and consequently a Sin not to do it. For it wou'd be a Great Sin not to doe any thing that cou'd be done without Sin, to Remove so Horrible a Scandal to the Christian Church; To Save so many Souls, and Nations, with their Posterities from so Great a Sin as Schism; which Produces Many more, not onely Un-Christian Animosities, but Blood-shed and Destruction, even of Kingdoms and whole Countries: To Restore so much Peace and Welfare to the Nations of the Earth, and to the Churches of God, as the Healing of this Schism 'twixt Rome and the Reformed wou'd



wou'd Produce. Who wou'd not  
onely bestow his *Pains*, but Sacrifice  
his *Life* to Contribute towards it!

Here one Interpos'd, and Ask'd, I.  
Whether all this Gentleman's Kind-  
ness was Reserv'd for *Rome*? That he  
seem'd much more Zealous for a Re-  
conciliation with Her, than with our Pro-  
testant Brethren the Dissenters.

Concern-  
ing the  
Schism of  
the Dissen-  
ters against  
Episcopacy  
among Us.

That we Grant it Lawful for the  
*Church of England* to Dispence with our  
*Rites* and *Ceremonies*: And if Lawful,  
then Necessary, by the Argument a-  
bove, to Heal this *Schism* of the Dis-  
senter.

The Gentleman Answer'd for him-  
self thus:

I. That the *Schism* 'twixt *Rome* and  
the *Reformed* is of much Greater Con-  
sequence to the *Christian Church*, and  
takes in even that of our *Dissenters*,  
which is but one *Branch* of it: And  
therefor, if Heal'd, wou'd Cure the  
*Whole*: And consequently, That this  
Deserves our Chief Care. But said he,  
I give not this for my Answer: Be-  
cause whatever Lawfully may be done,  
ought to be done for the Healing of  
Any *Schism*.

II. Therefor he Objected, That the  
Case was not Right stated, as if our  
*Rites*, *Ceremonies*, and other Indifferent  
things were the cause of this *Schism*.

No said he, these were onely a *Pretence*: But *Episcopacy* was the *Heir* which they said *Come let us Kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours.* For we must know, That was an *Involv'd* Cause, like that, *Numb. xvi.* *Dathan* and *Abiram*, the *Heads* of the *Lay-Rebels*, they *Mutiny'd* against *Moses*, the *Civil Magistrat*, for their *Fields* and their *Vine-yards*, and wou'd not have Him to be *Prince* over them. *ver.*

13. 14.

But *Korah* and the *Schismatical Levites*, they *Rose up* against *Aaron*, and wou'd have *Usurp'd* the *High-Priest-hood*. *Ver. 10, 11.*

So was it in the *Later Covenant* and *Conspiracy*, *An. 1638.* The *Laity* Fram'd a *Rebellion*, against the *King*; And the *Levites* made a *Schism* against the *Bishops*. Both *Join'd* in the same *Solemn League and Covenant.*

Towards which all things being now Ready, and the Necessary Orders given, it was *Resolv'd* to pick a *Quarrel.* And no *Pretence* being to be found in the *Doctrine* of our *Church*, or in any *Substantial* Matter, that cou'd *Pass* upon the *Common People*, whom it was Necessary to Gain to their *Party*; they *Began* to find *Fault* with the *Colour* of our *Cloaths*, either *White* or *Black*, and the *Length* or *Shape* of them. They *Invey'd* against Our  
Gowns

*Gowns* as well as *Surplices*. Then they Quarrell'd with our *Singing*. Why shou'd we *Sing* Better than they did? With *Quiristers* and *Organs*? And why shou'd we *Pray* Better too? With a *Liturgie*? Which Every body that was Acquainted with it, lik'd Much Better than their *Extempore* Effusions.

These, and such like, were their first Quarrels with Us.

And calling these *Indifferent* things, and thence thinking to Load our Church for not *Yielding* to them in these, do's in the first Place Lay the *Schism* wholly at their own Door.

For how Faulty soever the Church may be in not *Yielding* in *Indifferent* things: Yet all Agree that these cannot be a Sufficient Cause for *Separation*, and making of a *Schism* in the Church of Christ. Because that being a most Grievous Sin, Allow'd on all hands, nothing can be sufficient to *Justify* a *Separation*, or to Save it from becoming a *Schism*, but the Avoiding something that is put upon Us, which is a Sin. For no Man can be *Oblig'd* to Sin: And in that Case, the *Schism* Lies at their Door who Force others to *Separat* from them. But this can never be in the Case of *Indifferent* things. Because such are no Sins, else they were not *Indifferent*.

And

And here it is to be Caution'd, That it is not Enough for any Man to say, that his *Conscience* tells him, this or the other is a *Sin*: For so he may say of what he pleases, the *Colour* of our *Cloaths*, the *Length* of our *Beards*, &c. Nay some Mens *Conscience* ( as our *B. Saviour* has fore-told ) may bid them Cut our *Throats*,

But that the *Rule* to Determine this, is, the *Word of God*: And in Case of *Doubtful* or *Perverse Interpretation*, the *Doctrin* and *Current Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, who Liv'd next to the Age of the *Apostles*, is the Best *Expositor*.

And according to this *Rule*, if the *Dissenters* can shew any One thing of what they Except against in Our *Liturgie*, *Rites*, or *Ceremonies*, to have been *Forbidden*, We are willing to *Submit* and *Amend*.

How far otherwise is it betwixt Us and the *Church of Rome*? Whose *Council* of *Constance*, *A. D.* 1415. *Sess.* 13 do's Confess, That *Christ* did *Institute* the *H. Sacrament* in *Both Kinds*: And likewise that it was *Practis'd* in the *Primitive Church*: And yet with a *Non Obstante* to Both, they, out of the *Pleasure* of their *Power*, take away the *Cup* from the *Laitie*; And *Excommunicate* any *Priest* who shall Give it to them.

Now



Now as the *Apostle* says, *Gal. iii. 15.* *Tho it be but a Man's Testament, yet if it be Confirmed, no Man Disannulleth or Addeth thereto.* Therefor we say, That much Less has *Any Man* Power to Disannull that Part of *Christ* our B. Lord his *Last Testament*, the *Cup*, which, as the *Last Act* of His *Life*, Immediately before His *Entring* upon His *Holy Passion*, He *Bequeathed* to All the *Faithful*, till His *Coming again*. And that this was the *Sense* and *Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, the *Council of Constance* do's Allow. And thereby Yields both the *H. Scriptures* and *Antiquity* to be on Our side.

I must not (said the Gentleman) Launch out into this, and the other *Points* before-mention'd, for which We *Separat* from the *Communion* of the *Church of Rome*. For that is not the *Business* of our present Meeting. I only Name them Now, to shew the *Difference* of those things, and their *Importance*, upon which we *Separat* from the *Church of Rome*: And of those things upon which our *Dissenters* do *Separat* from Us. Which makes our *Separation* from *Rome* to be *Necessary*, and therefor no *Schism* in Us but in Them: But the *Separation* of the *Dissenters* from Us to be Wholly for Causes no ways *Sufficient*, even *Themselves* being *Judges*, that is, if their *Separation*

tion be only upon Account of our Rites and Ceremonies, as the Case is put by the Objector.

III. Having thus therefor ( continu'd the first Proposer ) shewn, that if the Case of the Dissenters is Truly Stated in this Popular Objection, then, in the first Place, it Lays the Schism Unanswerably upon Them: I will, in the next place, proceed, to shew, That this was not the True Cause of their Separation. And that the True Cause makes the Obstruction which hinders our Re-Union, to Lie Wholly on Their Side, and not at all on the Part of the Church of England.

That this was not the True Cause, I offer the following Reasons.

1. I. That the Covenant lays the Stress In Scotland. of their Separation upon Episcopacy, which it Vows to Extirpat Root and Branch. And never to Cease, till that be done.

2. When all the Rites and Ceremonies, and the Common-Prayer too was taken out of their Way; And Episcopacy it self Modell'd as near the Presbyterian Form as cou'd be; Which was done in Scotland, ever since the Restauration of Episcopacy there in the Year 1661. Yet they were so far from being Satisfy'd with All this, That they Grew more Outragious than ever before.

fore. They Rais'd two Open *Rebellions*, and Fought it out at *Pentland-Hills*, and *Bothwell-Bridge*, They *Assasinated* the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews* in the *High-way*. Shot another *Bishop* in his *Coach* in the *Streets* of *Edinburgh*. And by *Publick Declarations*, fixt up upon the *Mercat Crosses*, Made it not only *Lawful* but an *Obligation* upon every *True Presbyterian* to *Kill* the *Bishops*, and All that took their Part. And upon this Account, *Declar'd* that the *King* had *Forfeited* his *Crown*, because he set up *Episcopacy*: And therefor that it was *Lawful* to *Kill* not only His *Majesty*, but All that *serv'd* him, or own'd him as *King*. And Merely for this Reason, and no other, they have *Murthered* the *Soldiers*, who were *Travelling* the *Rode*, because they saw the *King's Livery* upon their *Backs*.

They were not indeed so Quite out of Purpose in *England*. For they were Govern'd with a Straiter Rein. In Eng.  
land. And it has been Observ'd that as *Stones* Move *swifter*, the Nearer they Come to their *Center*. So Men are Generally more *Fierce*, the Nearer *View* they have of their *Game*.

That even the *English Dissenters* *Declare* against *Episcopacy*, which we take not to be an *Indifferent* thing, but  
Instituted

*Instituted by Christ, and Confirm'd by the Constant Practice of the Universal Church of Christ in all Ages.*

That if the *Dissenters* were Gratify'd in All other things, yet wou'd they not *Comply* in this.

That there are several *sorts* and *sizes* of *Dissenters* amongst Us, of whom some *Like well* what others will not *Allow* in our *Lyturgy, Rites, and Ceremonies.*

That therfor it is *Imposible* to Please them All.

That if they wou'd All *Agree* which of our *Indifferent* things wou'd Purchase their *Reconciliation*, the *Church* wou'd Readily Grant it, for so Good an End.

Nay if any *One sort* of them wou'd Name for themselves, without *Respect* to the Rest, what wou'd Gain them to our *Communion*, ther are none of those things we call *Indifferent* shou'd Hinder it.

That they have been *Invited* to Make the Experiment, to my Knowledge (said he) but will not do it.

And while they *Can* not or *Will* not *Ask*, how knows the *Church* what to *Grant* ?

Nay it is Plain, That the Reason why they will not Tell what wou'd be Sufficient to *Reconcile* them, is because their *Leaders* have no Mind to  
it



it. For then they wou'd Lose their *Substance*. I speak not (said he) of All. For, no doubt, there are *Conscientious* and *Well-Meaning Men* Mistaken amongst them. But the *Governing Part* will not Tell what wou'd please them, because they Dare not Tell ALL; that is, That they will not be Pleas'd till *Episcopacy* be given up; And themselves made *Bishops* under other Names.

And hence (said he) it is Evident, That, as our *Rites* and *Ceremonies* were not the True Cause of the Separation which the *Dissenters* made from our Churches So that the True Cause, which is *Episcopacy*, and their *Ambition*, do's still keep up the Separation, and Hinder our Re-Union. To which we Invite them upon Any Terms that is in our Power, or that we can in *Conscience* Comply with.

And therefor (said he) their Case can be no *Parallel*, or *Objection* to that *Reconciliation* propos'd with those *Bishops* of any of those Churches that are in *Communion* with *Rome*, who shall think it Incumbent upon them to Comply with Us in such Particulars as are Justly in their Power, and which they can in *Conscience* Allow.

For the *Dissenters* who have other Ends to serve, and therefor will neither Take nor Give Quarter, will neither Propose nor Accept any Terms of Reconciliati-

*Reconciliation*, cannot for that ( unless only for that ) Reason, be Angry at our Seeking or Offering of *Reconciliation* with Others, who may be better Disposed.

II.  
Of the  
Rom. Catholicks in  
England.

Therefor enough having been said upon this Point, Leave was given to the Gentleman to Proceed with his first Proposal. Who said, That by the best of his Observation, the Generality of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were of the same Sentiments with the *Gallican Church* concerning the Supremacy, and Infallibility of the *Papal See*. And thence Inferred, How Unreasonable it was for them to keep off from our *Communion*, and continue the *Schism*, merely upon the Account of that *Supremacy* which they Pretend to Disown.

Especially considering, That they have no *Bishops* of their *Communion* in *England*. And therefor are left to the Guidance of their Own Conscience Here.

At least they have no *Bishops* of Particular *Diocesses*; And *Bishops* at large have none who are Properly their Subjects.

Or that if they had, then the same Considerations ought to weigh with them which are Offer'd to the *Bishops* of the same *Communion* in other Countries.

tries. And these seem to be more *Free* and *Independent* than the Other.

And if these shou'd Dispence with the Particulars before-mention'd to those of their Own *Communion* in *England*, it might be a Great *Beginning*, and *Example* to Others *Abroad*.

I know ( said the Gentleman that was speaking ) an *English Rom. Catholick*, a Man of very Good Sense, and now in a Considerable Station, Who, before this *Revolution*, came over to the *Communion* of the Church of *England*; And told Me, the thing which Sway'd him was, that it is Allow'd among Most Learned *Rom. Catholicks*, That Every *National Church* has Power to *Reform* within her self, in Matters of *Disciplin*, and *Order* in the Church, or Whatever Hurts not the *Christian Faith*. And ( said he ) the Best and most Understanding of the *English Rom. Catholicks*, that I cou'd Converse with, wou'd not say, That any of the Points in Dispute betwixt the Churches of *Rome* and *England* were Matters of *Faith*. They wou'd not say it of *Purgatory*, of the *Invocation of Saints*, of *Half-Communion*, of *Prayers* in an *Unknown Tongue*, of *Images*, no, not of *Trans-substantiation* it self, at least, not of the *Adoration* of the *Host*. And far less wou'd they say it of the *Pope's Supremacy*,

premac<sup>y</sup>, especially in that *Exaltation* which he wou'd be at.

Therefor ( said he ) why shou'd I make a *Schism* from any *National Church*, for Exerting those *Powers* which All Agree She has? Whether She makes use of them for Good or Bad Ends, for *Sufficient Cause*, or not? Is not the Question. She is *Judge* of that, and must Answer it to God. But I am not Her *Judge*. And such *Causes* are not *Sufficient* ( All do Agree ) to make a *Schism*. Else they wou'd never want Cause ; Every Man's *Jealousies*, *Fears*, or *Suspicion* wou'd be a *Sufficient Cause* to make a *Schism* at any time.

And if this be True, even upon *Rom. Catholick* Principles, then we must Lay it upon the *Consciences* of our *English Rom. Catholicks*, why they keep up a *Schism* from Us Contrary to their own Principles ?

III. And these Principles are yet more  
Of the strongly Maintain'd in the *Gallican*  
*Gallican Church*. They have Limited the *Supremacy* of the Pope in *France*, to the *Constitutions* of their own *National Church*, as before has been shewn. Otherwise they must Give up whatever they call the *Liberties* of the *Gallican Church*. They cannot be Both Free from the Pope's *Supremacy*, and Subject to it.

Therefor,



Therefor, if the *Gallican Church* shou'd make the *Reformation* before-mention-  
ed, it cou'd not be Call'd any *Schism*  
in Her, by Her own *Principles*. And  
if no *Schism*, then sure no *Crime*.  
For what Other *Crime* can it be?

And if so Great a Good as the Re-  
storing *Peace* to the *Western* now Di-  
vided Church, by Opening Our *Communi-  
ons* to One Another, can be Pro-  
cur'd without any *Crime* at all: Will  
it not be a Great *Crime*, not to Lay  
hold of the Opportunity!

The same *Method*, and the same Prin-  
ciples ( continu'd he ) wou'd likewise  
Open the *Communion* betwixt the *Western*  
and *Eastern Churches*; betwixt All the  
*Churches* of the Whole *Christian World*.  
Whose *Liturgies* and *Publick Worship*  
might soon be so Adjusted, as to Give  
no Cause for Breach of *Communion*.

IV.  
Of the  
Eastern  
Churches.

Then wou'd the Church be truly Ca-  
tholick and One. Tho' of DIFFERENT,  
yet not of OPPOSITE *Communions*.

Then wou'd the *Communicatory Let-  
ters* go Abroad of One *Bishop* to Ano-  
ther, even to the Ends of the Earth.  
And the Antient *Disciplin* wou'd Re-  
vive of its self.

Then wou'd *Bishops* ( not only of  
One Church or Nation ) Salute One  
Another, as in the *Primitive-Purer Ages*,  
by the Name of *Brethren*, and *Colleagues*.

And tho' Distributed among themselves into Different *Classes* of *Metropolitans*, *Primats*, or *Patriarchs*, for the better *Regulation* and *Commerce* of the *Episcopal College* of the Whole *Catholic Church*: Yet without any *Infracti-on* upon the *Rights* and *Authority* of Each particular *Bishop* within his own *Church*; or *Divesting* him of any *Part* of the *Episcopal Commission* Granted by *CHRIST* ( as the *Papal Supremacy* has done; And of which *Gregory the Great* Complain'd ) for that wou'd be to *Un-Bishop* him, in Effect: And Consequently All the *Bishops* in the *World*; Except the *One Universal One*, which the *Church of Rome* wou'd have.

That it is this *Papal Supremacy* Alone which stands in the way to *Oppose* such a *Glorious Re-Union* of all the *Christian Churches*. The *Pope* either *Excommunicating* or *Denying Communion* to, and *Refusing Communion* with All *Churches* whatsoever upon the *Face* of the *Earth*, who will not Own his *Universal Supremacy*.

His *Supremacy*! Now *Worn out* and *Exploded*, *Limited* and *Circumscrib'd* into a *Cipher*, by the *Best* and *Most Learned* of the *Roman Catholics* themselves. And not *Believ'd*, in that *Height* it was *Set up* and *Maintain'd* in the *Last Ages*, perhaps, by *One Roman Catholic* now in the *World*.

And

And that this *Ghost* of a *Supremacy* (said the *Gentleman*, not with an *Unbecoming Zeal*) shou'd Continue to Disturb the *Earth*, and Hinder the *Happy Union* of All *Christian Churches*! Must All be *Sacrific'd* to an *Idol*, which None Remain to *Worship*, which All do *Despise*! Is it not Time to *Bury* it, when it is *Dead*!

I cannot but *Hope* (said he) the *Time* is Come. Then it will Come, it is *Then* Come, when every *Bishop* shall think it within his *Commission*, and his *Duty* to *Govern* his own *Church* most to the *Benefit* of the *Catholic Church* that he can: To the *Restoring* the *Peace* and *Unity* of All *Christian Churches*: And to *Exert* the utmost of his *Authority* to that End.

If but *One Bishop* (said he) wou'd *Begin* it; And *Open* his *Communion*, as has been *Propos'd*; Others, surely, wou'd do the like: And it wou'd soon become *Universal*.

And it is not to be *Despair'd*, that such *Bishops* will be found in All *Communities*. Many *wish* it. *GOD* will *Stir up Some* to *Act* in it.

At least that they wou'd *Venture* so far, as to *Begin* a *Correspondence*, and *Understand* one *Another's Minds*, and then they wou'd see what cou'd be *Done*.

That to keep off *Communion*, till All the Particular *Points* betwixt Us are Adjusted, is Beginning at the Wrong End: For these are kept up, and Heightned on Purpose to Hinder Us from *Communion* together.

But if the *Terms* of *Communion* were once so Modell'd, as to Heal our Separation, the Disputes about the Particular *Points*, wou'd soon Dwindle, when ther was no *Interest* to be Serv'd by them.

And tho' many Particular *Points* are put into the *List* of our Differences, on Purpose to Enflame the Reckoning, yet, as said before, ther is Really at the Bottom but One, which Stops the Way to Heal the Breach of our *Communion*, and that is, such an Excess of the Pope's Supremacy as is Dis-own'd and Thrown off by the Whole Gallican Church.

If they Ask, why we will not Allow so much of the Pope's Supremacy as they have left to him?

We Answer, Because he will not be Content with it. Let them Prevail with the Pope to Confirm the Decrees of their National Council, Anno. 1682. And I dare say, We shall not long Quarrel about his Supremacy. But till he do's that, I am sure the English  
and



and the *Gallican Churches* are Nearer one another, upon this Point, than the *Churches of France and Rome*. And why then shou'd not we rather take Part with one another, against *Rome*, than, by our *Differences*, in other and Smaller Matters, to let him *Triumph* over Us Both, in his *Supremacy*? And thro' our Default, in not Joining together, over so Great a Part of *Christendom*.

This, and all other our *Differences* are so far *Reconcilable* as not to Hinder *Communion*. Let us Try. Enter upon a *Treaty*. Not only of Particular *Bishops*, that may be done Now, and at All times: But of our *National Councils*, our *Convocation*, and the *General Assembly* of the *Gallican Bishops and Clergy*, Which being to Meet now again this *May MDCC*. I cannot (said the Gentleman) but Hope, That GOD has a Blessing in Store, to open their Eyes, and let them see the Way of Peace, which is fully Pursuant to their own *Principles*.

And it has been the Principle of all *The Eng-*  
*Sober and Judicious Christians*, That the *lish Conve-*  
*cation not*  
 being suffer'd to Sit, while that of *France* lasted, Render'd any *Treaty* betwixt them Impracticable. But the *Censure* of the *Jesuits* by that *Gallican Assembly* ( Reprinted here ) is the Sorest Blow ever those *Top of the Regulars* Sustain'd. And has Shook the Main Pillar of the *Papal Throne*. So that the *Issue* of that *Assembly* has Exceeded Expectation.

*Publick Offices*, of the *Church* shou'd be kept as *Free* as Possible from *Disputes* and *Controverted Points*, to *Hinder* the *Breach* of *Communion*; Which turns mere *Opinions* into *Principles*, and adds *Hereſie* to *Schiſm*.

That if the *Gallican Church* wou'd thus *Purge* their *Publick Offices*, of things which themselves ſay are not *Necessary*, they Might find a *More Chriſtian* way with their *New-Converts* than has hitherto been taken. At least, *Free* themselves *Much More* from the *Blame*.

And then, ſince They and We are *Near* at One upon the *Grand Point* of the *Pope's Supremacy*, And have *Jointly* *Thrown off* his *Infallibility*, if they wou'd *Communicat* with Us, when they come to *England*, in what they *Approve* of, and can *Heartily Join* with in Our *Publick Offices*: And that Their *Publick Offices* were ſo *Modell'd* as that We might *Join* with them, when We went to *France*: They Might then make this to be a *Grand JUBILEE* indeed! The moſt *Glorious* that many *Centuries* have ſeen!

Here the Gentleman ſtopt, and ſaid he knew *Propoſals* of this Nature wou'd *Meet* with *Mis-Conſtruction*. That ther is a *Party* among Us, who wou'd

wou'd not wish our *Breaches* were *Heal'd*, because they *Subsist* by the *Division*. And sometimes Cry *Halloo* on the One side, and sometimes on the Other. Their *Word* is, *No Peace with ROME*. But I hope (said he) They are not against a *Peace* with *France*, Or afraid that the *French* are too Much *Protestants* against the *Usurpation* of the *Pontificat*.

If they keep as Clear of the *Regale*, their *Reformation* will Exceed Ours. Which God Grant. And let them not take it ill (*fas est ab Hoste doceri*) that We Warn them of the *Rock* upon which We have *Split*.

Our Concern is for the *Holy Catholick Church*, which Consists in the *Rights* of the *Members* of it: And not in the *Encroachment* of Any One upon the *Rest*. That will Prove (as we have Sadly seen) the *Corruption* of the *Whole*. And We Envy not, but Pray that Others may go Before Us in the *Restitution* of the *Rights* of the *Catholick Church*, and of Every One in Particular. And, by that, of the True *CHRISTIAN Faith* and *Doctrin*.

In this Great Work ther is a most Glorious Step to be Made (said one) by that King whom God shou'd so Inspire to take his *Regale* out of the Way from

V.  
The Glory of the first Christian King, who shall Restore the Church.

from *Obstructing* such *Mighty Ends* as these *Propos'd*. He wou'd Truly *Deserve* the *Titles* of *Most Christian*, *Most Catholick*, and wou'd be, in good Earnest, *The Defender of the Faith*. The *Benefits*, that wou'd thereby *Accrue* to the *Chureh*, wou'd far surpass All the *Glories* of *Constantine*. No *Age* since *Christianity* ever *Afforded* such an *Opportunity* for Any *King* to *Aggrandize* his *Name* and *Memory* to *Posterity*, in the Truly *Heroical* and *Christian* Sense, as is to be had this *Day*. After *Ages* wou'd Call him *Blessed*. And his *Place* wou'd be *High* in *Heaven*, who, by this, shou'd bring a *Heaven* upon *Earth*. Restore the *Gospel* and the *Kingdom* of *CHRIST*, far-Shining, in its *Native Purity*, from under the *Clouds* of *Regal* and *Pontifical Usurpations*. For the *Pontificat* can Last no Longer than it is Supported by the *Regale*. All the *Bishops* in the *World* are in *Arms* against it. And are *Restrained* only by the *Secular Power* of *Popes* and *Kings*.

Here the whole *Company* Wish'd and *Pray'd* to *God*, That they might see the *Example* of such a *Religious Christian King*, in our *Days*, Who wou'd begin to set the *Church* Free. And give up his *Regale* as former *Godly Kings* and *Emperors* have done.

That they wou'd follow their *Ex-amples*, and of *Constantine*, and *Lewis*



7th of *France*, who Refus'd to Accept of it, when Offer'd: But Rejected it with *Horror* and *Indignation*; Rather than the Examples of *Feroboam*, *Saul*, *Uzziah*, *Constantius*, and others, who Usurp'd upon the *Sacred Office*; And stand *Branded* for it, to All Posterities.

That *Kings* wou'd not Desire to Encrease their Account, at the Day of Judgment, Wherein, besides the Errors of their *Civil Administration*, they will stand Chargeable with all the *Miscarriages* in the *Church*, occasion'd by those *Bishops* and *Clergy* whom they Advance. The *Cure of Souls* will be Requir'd at their Hands, since they have taken it upon themselves. And likewise the *Sacrilege* of taking it, when it was not Committed to them by *God*.

They have taken upon themselves the Discharge of that Commission given to *Timothy* to make Choice of *Faithful Men*, who shall be able to Teach others also. ii Tim. ii. 2, And to *Titus*, to Set in Order the things that are Wanting (in the Church) And to Ordain *Elders* in Every City. Tit. i. 5. They now Appoint the *Bishops* for Every City. And to them now belongs that severe Charge of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, I charge thee before God, and the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and the *Elect Angels*, that thou observe these things, without preferring

ing One before Another, doing nothing by Partiality; Lay hands suddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Mens sins. But now Kings Command Hands to be Laid upon whom they think fit; And so have made themselves Partakers of their Sins.

Then it was observ'd, That Kings not only do the Office, but Exact the Tribute due to the Chief Pastor. They take those First-fruits and Tents from the Clergy, which they Pay'd to the Pope, under the Notion of Universal Pastor: As the Levites paid the Tenth of their Tenth to the High-Priest under the Law.

Thus making themselves the High-Priests of the Church of Christ, Each in their Dominions: And if they who Profess themselves to be the Subjects and Servants of Christ, do thus Usurp upon Him: Shou'd they not Reflect when He permits their Subjects, or Others, to Usurp upon them! And how can they Expect that Christ wou'd Restore and Protect them, while they Refuse to Restore to Him! If they will still Prefer Human Politicks, or not Judge this to be the truest Policie, to make God their Friend, it is but Just in Him to Infatuate their Councils, and Disappoint their Designs. For He will in the End prove Stronger than

than *Men*, And His *Folly* exceed their *Wisdom*.

He has Promis'd a Most Glorious *Revolution*, and *Deliverance* of His *Church*, and setting Her on high above All her *Enemys*; who shall Bow down to Her with their Faces to the Earth, and Lick up the Dust of her Feet. The *Holy Scriptures* are full of it. And Glorious things are spoken of this *City of God*, *Moses*, the *Psalms*, and all the *Prophets* who have been since the World began; by *Christ* also, and His *Apostles*: And it is Easier for Heaven and Earth to fail than one *Foot* of it not to be Fulfill'd.

But when *God's* Time will be for these things, or whom He will Bless as His *Instruments* in it, are *Secrets* of *Providence* which We know not.

As for the Particular Proposals before made, the Company pass'd no Judgment upon them. And he that Offer'd them, said, he did not take upon him so much as even *Proposals* in this Case, he thought himself not so Qualify'd. He rather Call'd what he Suggested a *Prospect* of such a *Glorious Reformation* as he Wisht. But for the *Particulars*, the *Ways* and *Means* by which it was to be Attempted, he did Submit them to his *Superiors*. And ask'd Pardon from the Company  
if

if he had *Exceeded* in any thing. Who took time to the Next Opportunity to consider of it. And so we Parted.

After he had said this one Word,  
*Concors ROMANÆ & REFORMA-*  
*TÆ Ecclesiæ FIDES,*  
*Neutrius OPINIO, Mibi RELIGIO est,*

---

*PAPERS* referr'd to in the foregoing Discourse.

N. I. *The Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, Concerning the Ecclesiastical Power, in the Year 1682.*

**W**Hereas Many do Endeavour to Overthrow the *Decrees* and *Liberties* of the *Gallican Church*, which have been Maintain'd with so Great Care by our Ancestors, and are Founded upon the Authority of the *Holy Canons*, and the Tradition of the *Fathers*.

And whereas, on the other hand, ther are not Wanting those, who Under Pretence of this, are not Afraid to Lessen the *Primacy* of *St. Peter*, and his *Successors* the *Bishops* of *Rome*, Instituted by *Christ*, And the Obedience which is Due to them from All *Christians*; And the *Majesty* of the *Apostolical See*, which is *Venerable* to All *Nations*, in which the *Faith* is *Preached*, and the *Unity* of the *Church* Preserv'd.

And



And whereas the *Hereticks* likewise Omit nothing whereby they may Render that Power in which the *Peace* of the *Church* is Contain'd, to be *Hateful* and *Grievous* to *Kings* and *People*; And by these Deceits do seduce the Minds of the Simple from the Communion of the *Church* their Mother, and so of *Christ*: To Suppress which Evils, We the *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* Assembled together, by the King's Command, at *Paris*, together with Others of the *Clergy* Deputed with Us, after Diligent Consideration had, have thought fit to Decree and Establish as follows.

## I.

That God gave to St. *Peter* and his Successors Vicars of *Christ*, and to the *Church* her Self the Power of *Spiritual* things pertaining to *Eternal* Life, but not of *Civil* and *Temporal* Matters. For the Lord said, *My Kingdom is not of this World*, And therefor that of the Apostle must stand, *Let every soul be subject to the Higher-Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are Ordained of God; whosoever therefore Resisteth the Power, Resisteth the Ordinance of God.* Therfor *Kings* and *Princes* are not subject, in *Temporals*, to any *Ecclesiastical* Power, by the Ordinance of God, neither can they, by Authority of the *Keys* of the *Church*,  
Directly

Directly or Indirectly, be *Depos'd*, or their Subjects *Absolv'd* from their Faith and Obedience, and Oath of Allegiance which they have taken.

And this is to be firmly Retain'd, as Necessary to the Publick Peace, and not less Useful to the *Church* than to the *State*, as being Consonant to the *Word of God*, the *Tradition of the Fathers*, and *Practice of the Saints*.

## II.

But that the full Power of Spiritual things is so in the *Apostolical See*, and the *Successors of Peter*, the *Vicars*, of *Christ*, that the *Decrees of the Holy and Oecumenical Council of Constance*, concerning the Authority of *General Councils*, which are contain'd, in the 4th and 5th *Sessions*, Approved by the *Apostolical See*, and Confirmed by the Use of the *Popes of Rome* themselves, and the *Whole Church*, and kept with perpetual Veneration by the *Gallican Church*, shou'd likewise Remain of Force, and Unshaken.

Nor are they Approv'd by the *Gallican Church*, who wou'd Infringe the Strength of these *Decrees*, as if they were of Doubtful Authority, or less Authentick; or who wou'd Wrest the Words of the Council only to the time of *Schism*.

## III.

## III.

Hence the Use of the *Apostolical Power* is to be Moderated by the *Canons*, fram'd by the *Spirit of God*, and Consecrated by the Veneration of the Whole World. And likewise the *Rules, Customs, and Institutions* which have been Receiv'd by the Kingdom and *Gallican Church* are to be in Force, and the Bounds of our Fathers to Remain Unshaken: And that this is for the Eminence of the *Apostolical See*, that the *Statutes and Usage* of so Great a *See*, and *Establish'd* by the *Consent* of the *Churches*, shou'd obtain their Proper Stability.

## IV.

The *Pope* likewise has the Chief Part in Questions concerning the *Faith*, and his *Decrees* have Respect to All and Singular Churches: But Nevertheless his Judgment is not *Irreformable*, except the Consent of the *Church* go along with it.

## V.

These things, Receiv'd from our Fathers, We have Decreed to be Sent to All the *Gallican Churches*, and to the *Bishops* Presiding over them, by Authority of the *Holy Ghost*: That We may All Speak the same thing, and Hold together in the same Mind and Judgment.

T

Here

Here is Subjoin'd the Original in Latin.

*Cleri Gallicani De Ecclesiastica Potestate Declaratio. A. D. 1682.*

**E**cclésiæ Gallicanæ Decreta & Libertates à majoribus nostris tanto studio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta sacris Canonibus & Patrum traditione nixa multi diruere moluntur; nec desunt qui earum obtentu Primatum B. Petri, ejusque Successorum Romanorum Pontificum à Christo Institutum, iisque debitam ab omnibus Christianis obedientiam, sedisque Apostolicæ, in qua Fides predicatur, & Unitas servatur Ecclesiæ, Reverendam omnibus Gentibus Majestatem imminuere non vereantur. Hæretici quoque nihil prætermittunt, quo eam Potestatem, qua Pax Ecclesiæ continetur, Invidiosam & Gravem Regibus, & Populis ostentent, iisque fraudibus simplices animas ab Ecclesiæ matris, Christi que adeo Communionem dissociant, Quæ ut incommoda propulsemus, Nos Archi-Episcopi, & Episcopi Parisiis, mandato Regio, congregati, Ecclesiam Gallicanam Representantes, una cum Ecclesiasticis viris nobiscum Deputatis, diligenti tractatu habito, hæc Sancienda & Declaranda esse duximus.

I.

Beato Petro, ejusque successoribus Christi



*ſſi vicariis, ipſique Eccleſiæ rerum Spiritu-  
 alium, & ad Aeternam ſalutem perti-  
 nentium, non autem Civilium ac Tempora-  
 lium a Deo traditam Potēſtatem, dicen-  
 te Domino, Regnum meum non eſt de  
 hoc Mundo. Et Iterum, Reddite quæ  
 ſunt Cæſaris Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei  
 Deo, ac proinde ſtare Apoſtolicum illud  
 Omnis anima Potēſtatibus ſublimi-  
 oribus ſubdita ſit. Non eſt enim Po-  
 teſtas niſi à Deo. Quæ autem ſunt,  
 à Deo ordinata ſunt. Itaque qui Po-  
 teſtati Reſiſtit, Dei ordinationi Re-  
 ſiſtit. Reges ergo & Principes in Tem-  
 poralibus nulli Eccleſiæ Potēſtati Dei  
 ordinatione ſubjici, neque Autoritate Cla-  
 vium Eccleſia directè vel indirectè Depo-  
 ni, aut illorum ſubditos eximi a Fide, at-  
 que Obedientia, ac præſtito Fidelitatis Sa-  
 cramento ſolvi poſſe, Eamque ſententi-  
 am Publicæ Tranquillitati neceſſariam, nec  
 minus Eccleſiæ quam Imperio utilem, ut  
 verbo Dei, Patrum traditioni, & Sancto-  
 rum Exemplis conſonam omnino retinen-  
 dam.*

## II.

*Sic autem ineſſe Apoſtolicæ ſedi, ac Pe-  
 tri ſucceſſoribus Chriſti vicariis rerum Spi-  
 ritualium plenam Potēſtatem, ut ſimul  
 valeant, atque immota conſiſtant Sanctæ  
 Oecumenicæ ſynodi Conſtantiensis à ſede  
 Apoſtolica comprobata, ipſorumque Roma-  
 norum Pontificum, ac totius Eccleſiæ uſu  
 confirmata, atque ab Eccleſiæ Gallicana  
 perpetua*

perpetua Religione custodita Decreta de  
Auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium, quæ  
Sess. 4 & 5. continentur; nec probari a  
Gallicana Ecclesia, qui eorum Decreto-  
rum, quasi Dubiæ sint Auctoritatis, ac mi-  
nus approbata, robur infringant; aut ad  
solum Schismatis tempus Concilii dicta de-  
torqueant.

## III.

Hinc Apostolicæ Potestatis usum Mo-  
derandum per Canones, Spiritu Dei Con-  
ditos; & totius Mundi Reverentia conse-  
cratos. Valere etiam Regulas, Mores &  
Instituta a Regno & Ecclesia Gallicana  
recepta, Patrumque terminos manere In-  
concussos; atque id pertinere ad Amplitu-  
dinem Apostolicæ sedis, ut Statuta &  
Consuetudines tantæ sedis, & Ecclesiarum  
Consensione firmatæ propriam stabilitatem  
obtineant.

## IV.

In Fidei quoque Quæstionibus præcipuas  
summi Pontificis esse Partes, ejusque De-  
creta ad omnes & singulas Ecclesias per-  
tinere, nec tamen Irreformabile esse Judi-  
cium, nisi Ecclesiæ Consensus accesserit.

## V.

Quæ accepta à Patribus ad omnes Eccle-  
sias Gallicanas, atque Episcopos iis Spi-  
ritu Sancto Autore præsidentes mittenda  
Decrevimus, ut idipsum dicamus omnes,  
simulque in eodem Sensu, & in eadem  
sententia.

N. II. *Inscription in the Parlor of the Hospital of Ledbury in the County of Hereford, which is Mention'd p. 106.*

**H**UGH Foliot was Elected by the *Presbytery* of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, in *October An. Dom. 1219.* without Letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free Election (even as it is testified of *Rob. Foliot* to have been chosen before him in the Year of our Lord 1173) he lived Bishop in the Reign of King Henry the 3d. *Fredericus 2.* being then Emperor, and *Honorius 3d* Pope when he was Elected, and *Gregorius 9.* when he died, viz. July 26. 1234, so he lived Bishop 14 years 8 Months and odd days.

Though as well the Doctrine as the Government of the Church, were in the time of this Bishop greatly corrupted, and Bishops were called *Capita Diæceson suarum*, as the Pope wou'd be called *Caput Universalis Ecclesie* even over Kings and Emperors, Claiming power to Excommunicate and Depose them; Yet *Presbyteries* were not (here in England especially) then called *capitula*; nor their Bishop and they divided into two Bodies, For *Gregorius 9.* had not yet published

published his Decretal Epistles, where-  
in these two Titles were first Establish-  
ed. 1. *Iis, quæ fiunt a Prelato sine con-*  
*sensu Capituli*: 2. *De iis quæ fiunt a ma-*  
*jore Parte Capituli*: From which De-  
cretals the *Presbyteries* began general-  
ly to be called *Capitula*, and the Go-  
vernment Ecclesiastical in every Pro-  
vince, and Diocess grew to be Seve-  
red. The Bishop as the Head, doing  
many things of himself without  
Consent of the Chapter and *Capitu-*  
*lum*; the little Head or Chapter do-  
ing many things by a greater Part a-  
mong themselves without the Bi-  
shop.

In the time of this Bishop, the  
Court of *Rome* was Charged with  
much Avarice and Oppression; for  
that Causes were there delay'd, and  
cou'd not be ended without Gifts and  
Bribery; to take away this Offence  
as it was pretended, *Honorius* 3 sent  
*Gwalo*, and *Gregorius* 9. sent *Pandul-*  
*phus* the Legats into *England*, requi-  
ring of every Cathedral Church two  
Prebends, for the better Maintenance  
of their Pontifical Estate, thereby to  
remove the Scandal of Bribery and  
Extortion, said there to be then used,  
in delay of Justice; but the King  
with the General consent of the Cler-  
gy, denied those requests strictly urged  
by both these Popes, in their several  
times;



times: Whereupon these verses, were made which howsoever they bewray much Ignorance and decay of good Literature in that time: Yet do they sufficiently declare a sound Judgement, against the Covetousness of both the Popes, which was indeed the only Cause that moved them to send so far and make such unreasonable and ungodly Requests.

*Quod virtus reddit non copia Sufficientem.*

*Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Which may be Englished thus.

*It is not store sufficiency that brings,  
But well contentedness with present things,  
It is not slender Wealth that makes one Poor,  
But greediness and still desire of more.*

This Bishop never shew'd himself to favour the Exactions of these Popes in whose time he lived; Neither did he exact any thing of the Church wherein he was Bishop. He did erect this Hospital, for the relief of the Aged and Impotent People, dwelling Chiefly in this Town or Borough, which then was his Mannor; he committed the over-sight and Care of the same to the Trust and Charge of the Presbytery, as to a Religious and Judicious Senate, most likely to preserve so Godly a Foundation. And thereunto, the rather to incite them, he Endowed them with an Annual

nual, Pension of XLs. to be paid out of the Revenues of this Hospital; He gave also to the Library, many Books, the Names whereof do not remain to be seen.

Last of all ( that we may see how Christian and true Devotion was then linked with human and fond Superstition ) he gave many Ornaments to the Church, to Adorn the Sacrificing Priesthood withal, *Innocentius* 3. next Predecessor to *Honorius* 3. having Establish'd Transubstantiation, in the *Laterane* Council not long before. And he bequeathed two Marks yearly to the Presbyters Prebendaries that shou'd be present at his Exequies the 7th day of the *Ides* of *July*, yearly to be Celebrated, and to the Choir half a Mark, then also to be given.

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**FINIS.**

## A Supplement.

In Answer to a *BOOK*, Entituled,  
*The Regal Supremacy, in Eccle-*  
*siastical Affairs, Asserted in a*  
*Discourse, Occasioned by the Case*  
*of the Regale and Pontificat.*  
 London. Printed for Will. Ro-  
 gers at the Sun, against St. Dun-  
 stan's Church in Fleet-street.  
 1701.

**T**His Book was sent to me the  
 19th of this *Month*. I have  
 given it a hasty Examinati-  
 on, not finding much Trouble in it.  
 And thought it best to let it go as  
 a *Supplement* to this *New Edition* of *The*  
*Case of the Regale, &c.* That the whole  
 Matter may lie together.

As to the *Preface*, it is *Angry*, and  
*Superficial*, therefore I let it pass. It  
 might have been *Spar'd*, especially  
 Considering how obvious it is to *Re-*  
*port* it.

Onely I Joyn with him, as a Preliminary; which is observ'd all along in *The Case*, That by *Kings and Princes*, we mean the *Supreme Civil Power* in any Nation, be it in *One* or *Many*. For I wou'd not intermix the *Dispute* of *Monarchy* and *Commonwealths*, that is Another *Subject*.

Let it be also observ'd, That by the word *Regale* is not Meant any Part of the *Civil Power* or *Supremacy*, let it be Exercis'd how it will, either in *Ecclesiastical Causes*, or over *Ecclesiastical Persons*; But only the *Ecclesiastical Power* or *Supremacy* that is Claim'd by *Christian Civil Governments* over the *Church* in their *Dominions*.

This is sufficiently *Explain'd* and *Caution'd* in *The Case*. And if it had been Attended to, might have Prevented Great Part of this *Answer* to it, which do's not at all Distinguish betwixt the *Ecclesiastical* and the *Civil Regale*; And therefor Forces me to Repeat it oftner than Needful.

He Runs all along upon the King's *Supremacy*, in the General. Which if it be Understood of his *Civil Regale* or *Supremacy*, is not *Deny'd*, but *Asserted* in *The Case*: And is Allow'd to Extend to All whatsoever *Causes*, and over all *Persons*, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Temporal*. But the *First* onely is *Deny'd*, that is, His *Ecclesiastical Regale*



*gale* or *Supremacy*. If this Distinction seem obscure to Any, it is Explain'd in what follows, particularly in *Sect. 2d.*

If Protestations signify'd any thing in *Disputes*, I cou'd truly say, That I am wholly *Un-prejudic'd*, and an Equal Judge (if I were a Judge) in the Cause here controverted: Except that the *Byass* of *Worldly Interest* carrys Considerably the *Assertor* against *The Case*. However I hope it shall not so *Blind* my Judgment, as not to Reason *Impartially* and *Fairly*. Of which the Reader will best Judge by what follows;

I. To begin therefor, I Agree with this *Assertor* of the *Regal Supremacy* in all his *Theses*, 1, 2, and 3. Except his Mistaking the Meaning of the *Author* of *The Case*, in his p. 218. (it is p. 210, of this Edition) where he gives the Reason of *Civil Governments*, being call'd *Earthly, Secular, or Temporal*; because, *The End and Design* of them had Respect onely to this World. For that in the other, there are no Distinctions or Representatives of Nations. And every Man's Death dissolves his Relation to an *Earthly Kingdom*. Hence the *Assertor* Infers it, as the Meaning of that *Author*, That the *Civil Government* do's Regard the *Temporal Welfare* onely of their People; and so long as that was secur'd,

*it did not Concern them (the Temporal  
 Governors) Whether God or Baal were  
 Worshipped in their Dominions, p. 3. But  
 it was far from that Author's Meaning,  
 That Temporal Governments, tho' on-  
 ly for this World, even a Mayor or a  
 Constable, tho' but for a Year, should  
 not Exercise the Civil Sword for the  
 Good of Men's Souls, as well as their  
 Bodies, and Restrain Ir-Religion as well  
 as Im-morality. This he Insisted upon  
 in several Places, one taken Notice of  
 by the Assertor, p. 2. But this makes  
 them not to be Call'd Spiritual Go-  
 vernments, or Intitles them to Any  
 Place in the Hierarchy. Which, tho'  
 it Respects this World, as well as the  
 Other, Having Promise of this Life, and  
 that which is to Come; yet it Respects  
 that to Come Chiefly; And from thence  
 Receives its Denomination of a Holy  
 and Spiritual Government, in Contra-  
 distinction to that which is only Secular  
 and Earthly, for the Outward Peace and  
 Temporal Happiness of Men. Which  
 yet, in its Proper Sphere, that is, in  
 the Use of the Civil Sword, is Oblig'd  
 to Further and Promote, all that in it  
 lies, the Spiritual Intendments and  
 Purposes; as all things whatsoever  
 are. Thus it is written, *Whether ye  
 Eat or Drink, or whatever ye do, Do all  
 to the Glory of God.* But the Extent  
 of the Civil Power is only as to this  
 World.*

*World.* And the *Sentence* of any *King* or *State* has no *Effect* out of their own *Dominions*: Whereas the *Spiritual Censures* have their *Effect* in the other *World*. And the *Censure* of every *Bishop* is *Valid* not only in his own *Diocess*, but thro' the Whole *Catholick Church*. This is insisted upon in *The Case*, p. 151, 152. (It is p. 153. here.) And in several other *Places*, So that it could hardly be *Mistaken*, but thro' *Inadvertence*. However, if the words *End and Design* of *Temporal Government* have Really led the *Affertor* into this *Mistake*, they are Alter'd in this *Edition* to *Commission and Extent*. And that *Author* shall shew how willing he is to stand *Corrected*, not only when in any *Error*, but where his *Words* may be *Mended*, more *Clearly* to *Express* his *Meaning*. So ther is an *End* as to that. And it will Answer several other *Places* in the *Affertor*, where he *Runs* upon the same *Mistake*, even to the *End* of his *Book*, which *Concludes* with the same. Therefor, let me Answer it in this *Place*. And we shall have the less to do with all that is between.

II. He *Concludes* from p. 89. with *Exceptions* against the *Exposition* of the 37th *Article* in *The Case*, p. 70, 71. (Here p. 65, &c.) And yet I cannot find one *Exception*, having Read it

over and over, that I am in a Puzzle to know what he means. I desire the Reader to Compare the Two together, and see if he be sharper sighted than I am. He ask's p. 90. why these words; [*That they should Rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal*] were left out? Whereas they are expressly Quoted in *The Case*. p. 70, with other words of the 37th Article, and so Repeated in this same Page of the *Affertor*. Ay, but, says he, *What was this Part of the Explanation left out for? Was our Memory so weak*.—And so he go's on for some Lines *Rejoycing*! Why, Sir, I will tell you; This was no Part of the *Explanation*. It had Nothing to do with it. For how far the *Regal Supremacy* Extended, to what *Persons*, or *Causes*, was not the Point; for that was freely granted to Extend to All *Persons* and *Causes*, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Temporal*: But the Question is only, of what Nature the *Regal Supremacy* is, and what its *Power* is, whether only a *Civil Power* (tho' that may be Exercis'd upon *Ecclesiastical Causes* and *Persons*) or an *Ecclesiastical Power*? And those words of the Article are Repeated in the *Explanation*, which do Expressly Limit this *Regal Supremacy* to that of a *Civil Power*. And ther was no more Needful. All  
you



you say against this, is in p. 89. *That all Authority receives its Denomination from the Persons and Causes about which it is Conversant; what then can any Man make of this Power, but an Ecclesiastical Power?* Now, Sir, This is only *Asserting*, not *Proving*. And I think the *Assertion* is totally *Wrong*. For that from which any *Power* receives its *Denomination* is not the *Persons* and *Causes* about which it is *Conversant*; but from the *Nature* of the *Power* it self. The *Subject* upon which I exercise my *Skill* or *Power*, and the *Skill* it self or the *Power*, are Two things. And *Many* and *Different Powers* may be exercis'd upon the same thing. For Example, a *Divine*, a *Physician*, a *Lawyer*; a *King*, *Judge*, or *General*, and a *Bishop* too, may All exercise their several *Skills* and *Powers* upon the same *Person*: Are their *Powers* therefor, All, the *Same*? Or do they take their *Denomination* from the *Person* about which they are *Conversant*? In a *Christian* Country, every Man is a *Member* both of the *Church* and of the *State*. All *Church* and *State* therefor the same thing? Then indeed all our *Dispute* is at an *End*. For there can be no longer a *Comparison* or *Dispute* betwixt the *Same* thing and it *Self*. And, as every *Person*, so every *Cause* is Two-fold, that is, both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*; Thus *Murder* or

*Adultery* are *Civil Causes*; They are likewise *Ecclesiastical Causes*, and Punishable by the *Temporal Laws*. They are likewise *Ecclesiastical Causes*, and Censurable by the *Church*. Again, *Heresie* or *Idolatry* are call'd *Ecclesiastical Causes*; They are likewise *Civil*, and as *Job* says, Chap. xxxi. 28. Punishable by the *Judge*. Some have run themselves into the Mistake of ther being *Two Sets of Causes*, one *Spiritual*, the other *Temporal*: And they have taken Pains to Distinguish these, and lay the one sort to the *Church*, the other to the Power of the *State*; And by this Means to Rid the Marches betwixt these *Two Powers*. But they have Involv'd themselves *In-extricably*, as it could not be otherwise. Instead of *Reconciling*, they set the *Church* and *State* to *Dispute* every *Cause*, to which of their *Powers* it does belong. And *Neither* Side can want good *Arguments*, because indeed every *Cause* belongs to *Both*. This Comes from *Denominating* and *Distinguishing* of *Powers*, by the *Persons* or *Causes* about which they are *Conversant*; and not from the *Different Nature* of the *Powers*. If the *Affertor* understood all this before (it is so very plain) and only *Bannered* upon this Point; I ask his *Pardon* for not Understanding him. And I have taken *Needless Pains*, as to him;  
But

But it may serve others, who know not so much.

By the way, I desire the Reader to look into p. 69, and 70, of *The Case* (here p. 64, 65.) the words just going before what is here Quoted by the *Affertor*, and see whether this be not Plainly Express'd there, *That the Civil Power may be Exercis'd over Ecclesiastical Persons, and in Ecclesiastical Causes too, to Punish with Temporal Pains, as well Blasphemers, Idolators, and Hereticks, as Thieves, Robbers, &c. as well the Transgressors against the First as Second Table. Thus the Godly Kings in H. Scripture did. Thus they were Impower'd by God, &c.* How then cou'd the *Affertor* so far Mistake the Meaning of *The Case*, as to Urge the Jewish Kings Abolishing Idolatry, and setting up the Worship of the True God, as an Argument against it, or to think that the *Author* must have Recourse for this, to Extra-ordinary Commissions given to those Kings! As he do's p. 3. and p. 91.

What has been said will Answer the Question, with which the *Affertor* Concludes, p. 92, as the Summing up of the whole Cause; Thus he Presses the *Author* of *The Case*, He therefore would do well to give us an Account of such Acts as Ordinarily lie within the Prince's Power. And the Answer shall be

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be as *Short* and *Full*. All, All Manner of *Acts* whatsoever, *Spiritual* or *Temporal*. But so far only as the Exercise of *Civil* Power Reaches, in Any of these *Acts*. If he Exercise this Power *Un-justly*, he must Answer it to God. But that is Another *Case*. We are now only upon the Enquiry, *How far* his Power Extends. And I think I have given it *Extent* enough, without any Sort of *Exception*. I put the *Limitation* only as to the *Nature* of his Power, the same as the 37th *Article* has put it, that is, To extend only to a *Civil* Power; tho' over *Ecclesiastical* Persons, and in *Ecclesiastical* Causes. And now have I spoke *Plain* enough? Reader forgive me, for Repeating this so often, over and over, as if I call'd either your *Memory* or *Judgment* in Question. It is much more often Repeated in *The Case*, upon Every occasion that it cou'd come in, till the *Author* was Afraid of offending the *Reader*. But he was Resolv'd this *Point* shou'd not be Forgot; because the *Whole* did Indeed Depend upon it. The *Whole* of that Invidious Objection of seeking, to Pull down the *Prerogative*, whether of *Kings* or *States*; And to set the *Church* above them, even in *Temporals*, as the *Church* of *Rome* has done. And therefor the *Principle* of the *Independence* of the *Church* upon the *State*, in *Spirituals*;

ought

ought to be well Guarded, lest some that Desire *Occasion*, Might take *Occasion*, to Represent this to be only *in ordine ad Temporalia*; And that the Bottom of it was Popery! But it seems, All the Pains that has been taken, and Repeating it over 100 times will not do; is not sufficient to open the *Eyes* of those who *will not See*. To all others it is done to an *Excess*, for which I am oblig'd to Ask *Pardon*. They will give it Me, upon Account of the *Necessity* lys upon Me from these Different sorts of Men. I hope it is done Sufficiently now! Shall I be oblig'd to Repeat it any More! I mean, after I have done with this *Answer*. For that must be the *Reply* to Every *Thesis* in it. And if the Reader will have Patience, I will shew it to him.

III. This must be the *Reply* to *Thesis*.  
 iv. *That Kings have Supreme Authority in Matters of Religion*. It is granted. In *All Matters of Religion*, as well the *Essentials*, as *Circumstantials*, in the Difference betwixt which the *Affertor* spends several *Pages*; lest Advantages might be taken, and he be mis-Understood to Extend the *Regale* even to the *Essentials* of *Religion*; which he Carefully *Denies*. But he needed not have done it for fear of me. For I go farther in his way, than he wou'd have me. I freely grant, that the *Regale* Extends to every thing,  
 without

without Exception; Even to *All* the very *Essentials* of *Religion*; to the very Being of a *God*; that is, It is in the Power of any *State, King and Parliament*, of every *Supreme Civil Power*, Whether they will Draw the *Civil-Sword* (which only is Committed to Them) against even those who shall Acknowledge a *God*. I speak not of the *Sin* of this, and their Answering it to *God*. That you know is not the *Point* we are now upon. But of the *Extent* of the *Civil Power*, or of the *Power* of the *Sword*. And wou'd any have me Carry it farther? Yes: Even those who are Angry with me for Carrying it so far! It is Farther than All this, to give them Any *Ecclesiastical Power*, or Let them in to the *Hierarchy*, which is a *Government* Ordain'd by *God*, for the *Conduct* of *Mens Souls*, to whom he has Committed the *Keys* of *Heaven* and *Hell*, to *Remit* and *Retain SIN*; whose *Censures* (when justly Inflicted) He has Promis'd to *Ratise* in *Heaven*; And by their *Ministrations*, to Convey His *Holy Spirit*: In their Hands He has left the *Administration* of the *Means* of *Grace*, whereby we are *Intitul'd* to the *Future Glory*. These! These! Are for *Greater* things than the *Utmost Extent* of the *Civil-Sword*; Which, when it has *Kill'd* the *Body*, has no More that it can do. And so Far, *Power* was given



ven to it, from *Above*, over *Christ* Himself. *Who* then, or *What* is Excepted from it!

Nothing can *Limit* any *Power*, but a *Power* that is *Superior* to it, in the *Same Kind*. Therefore whatever can *Limit* any *Civil Power*, has a *Superior Civil Power*. And so of the *Ecclesiastical*.

By *Limiting* here is not Meant *Encroaching* upon one Another. As one *King* or *State* may *Conquer* or *Oppress* Another. And the *Church* may *Encroach* upon the *State*, in its *Civil Capacity*: And so again may the *State* upon the *Church* in Her *Spiritual*.

But by *Limiting* here is meant a *Regular* and *Just Power* to *Restrain*, to *Command*, and to *Enact*.

And as to the *Distinction* of *Essentials* and *Circumstantials*, it is Altogether *Vain* in this Case. For it is *Essential* to every *Government* and *Society*, to have the *Ordering* of their own *Circumstantials*. Without which, they cannot *Meet*, or do any one *Act* of *Government*.

The *Affertor* tells, p. 19 what he Means by the *Circumstantials* of *Religion*, viz. The determining of *The Persons*, *Times*, *Places*, and *Ceremonies* appointed for *Religious Worship*. Now no *Act* of *Publick Worship* can be *Perform'd*, but by some *Persons*, at some *Time*, in some *Place*, and with some  
Cere-

*Ceremonies.* Therefor, whoever has the *Command of These*, has the *Whole Publick VVorship* in his *Power*, and All that Belongs to it; As, the *Sole and Absolute Nomination of Bishops*, and other *Clergy Men*, the *Prescribing the Measures of their Duty*, the *Nature of their Doctrine*, the *Way of their Wor-ship*, and the *Manner of their Dis-pline*. You see how one thing follows Another! This is what they call *Wire-Drawing*!

Put the *Case e Contra*, as *The Case* Advises, p. 11. (here p. 15.) And is the truest way to Judge. Suppose the *Bishops* should *Prescribe* thus to the *State*, and *Desire* for the *Security of the Church*, to have the *Appointment of the Circumstantials* of the *State*: But not to *Meddle* with the *Essentials* of the *Civil Government*; O no, by no Means! Only, As to the *Persons, Times, Places and Ceremonies* of the *Meeting of Parliaments, Councils, Assizes, &c!* I doubt the *Civil Government* would think this a little *Touching their Essentials!*

A little of this *Leven* will soon go thro' the whole *Lump*. Let in the *State* upon the *Circumstantials* of the *Church*, or the *Church* upon those of the *State*; They will Soon *Draw* the *Essentials* with them.

Therefor,

Therefor, in order to their Good Agreement, it is Necessary, That they be kept wholly In-Dependent, and Un-mixtable by one Another, their several Spheres. This is the Argument carry'd on in *The Case*. To shew, That the Regale which justly, belongs to Kings is wholly a Civil Power. Tho' it may be Exercis'd upon Ecclesiastical Persons, and in Ecclesiastical Causes. And that this is Equally the Right of All Kings and States, whether Infidel or Other, Because it is of the Nature of Government it self. But that this is no Ecclesiastical Regale, or Infers Any sort of Ecclesiastical Power or Authority. Because That is wholly of Another and a Different Kind. And therefor must be as In-Dependent of the Other in its Kind; as the Other is of That, in its Kind.

2. How widely then has the Assertor Mistaken *The Case*, when he thinks, That the Original of the Regale there given, p. 94. and p. 37, 38. (Here p. 72.) was this sort of Regale, of the Civil-Regale? No; That was as Ancient as Government in the World. But it was the Ecclesiastical-Regale of Secular-Princes which is there spoke of. And the Original of it plac'd (not in *Eli*, as he afterwards mistakes this Author, who spoke of that merely on a Supposition, which he did not Aver, and therefor Built not on it; as not here for the Original

original of this *Regale*, but in a *Later*, and *Plain Instance*) in *Jeroboam's* Depriving the *Priests* in his *Kingdom*. Which the *Affertor* Quotes p. 11, 12. And *Waves*, but Promises to Answer it Afterwards. Which we find p. 67. Where all he says, as to this of *Jeroboam*, is, *When we allow Princes to rake Dung-hills to fill Episcopal Sees, it will be time enough to Consider of these Instances, and not Before*. This is spoke with Relation to his making *Priests* of the *Lowest* of the *People*; of which *The Case* takes not the least Notice (tho' it might) but Mentions only his *Depriving the Priests*, and that upon a *State-point*, for not Joining with him against their former *King*, who was yet *Alive*. And this is All the *Answer* it has Receiv'd!

3. Having thus *Easily* Dispatch'd that Instance of *Jeroboam*, the first of the *Regale* in the *Jewish*, he comes next, p. 12. to that of *Constantius*, the first in the *Christian Church*. Where he gives a long *Quotation* out of *Bishop Bilson*, of *Constantin's* concerning himself in the Disputed *Election* of *Cacilianus* Bishop of *Carthage*; first Referring it to the the *Bishops* to Decide; but when the *Donatists* wou'd not Acquiesce in their *Decision*, once and Again; the *Emperor*, at last, Interpos'd his *Civil-Power* in Justification of the *Sentence* of



of the *Bishops*. Now what Advantage can be made of this? All this is *Regular and Well*, and Exactly Pursuant to the *Principles of The Case*. O but the *Emperor* then at last, heard their Cause Himself; And exactly weighing what either Party cou'd say, gave Sentence with *Cecilianus* against *Donatus*; Making withal a sharp Law to Junish the *Donatists*, if they Persisted in their *Wilfulness*, as *Dissentious Schismaticks* from the *Church of Christ*: Which Rigor the *Christian Emperors* that followed, did rather encrease than diminish. And they did very well, and as they ought to do, to Support and Defend the *Church* against *Violent and Turbulent Schismaticks*. And where they thought it Necessary to Interpose their *Brachium Seclare*, why shou'd they not, as in Justice ought, to hear what Both Parties cou'd say, to Examin *Witnesses*, and all other Acts of *Judicature*? For they are the *Only* and the *Absolute Judges*, when to make use of their *Civil Power*, and how far, in *All Religious Matters*.

But what is all this to that which is Urg'd in the *Case of Constantine's* Refusing the *Appeal* of the *Donatists* from the *Bishops* to him, as to a *Superior Judge* in *Ecclesiastical Matters*; and Denying even to Joyn himself with the *Bishops*, as if he were a *Co-Judge* with them, or had any thing to do in,

it; But Asserting their Judgment to be,  
*As when the Lord Himself, Residing,  
 Judgeth; And much more to the same  
 Purpose, which is there Quoted?*  
 Why, to All this, says the Assertor,  
 p. 15. *Certainly those Men must be Ut-  
 terly Blinded with Prejudice, who, against  
 so Notorious Matter of Fact, can Be-  
 lieve that Constantine absolutely Re-  
 fus'd to Concern himself in this Case,  
 upon no better Grounds than a few Warm  
 Expressions he made use of, merely to Di-  
 vert an Invidious Business; And in which,  
 being then but a young Christian, he  
 Distrusted his own Skill. This is All  
 the Answer. To which I say, 1st.  
 That Constantine did Concern himself.  
 But it was only as a Civil, not an Ec-  
 clestiaſtical Judge. 2dly, That he him-  
 self must know best his own Mean-  
 ing, and he tells us that it was so;  
 That he Renounc'd all Eccleſiaſtical  
 Judicature. 3dly, That to put off  
 what he says so *Emphatically*, and with  
 so great Sense of *Christianity*, in a  
 Deriding Jest of *Warm-Expressions*, and  
 his being *But a Young Christian*, is a  
 Total yielding up of this Instance  
 which you Contend about; And Sa-  
 vours of a *Light Spirit*; And as one  
 who is Resolv'd not to be Convinc'd.  
 And, 4thly, To usher in such a *Guil-  
 ty* Plea, with all that Assurance of  
*Certainly those Men must be Utterly  
 Blinded**

*Blinded with Prejudice* — Looks like *Hectoring*, instead of *Arguing*. And another Name I will Forbear. But it shews where the *Prejudice* lies, and who are *Blinded* with it.

4. Not being able to Deny, That the *Donatists* were the first who *Appeal'd* to the *Regale*, as to an *Ecclesiastical* Judge; he says, p. 16. That they too *Opposed* it Afterwards. Let him make his Advantage of that.

But he says, *That by this Opposition to the Regale, they distinguished themselves from the Catholicks, as much as by any other of their Teners.* But this he was not at leisure to *Prove*. Till when we must let it Rest.

5. He throws away what is Quoted in *The Case*, p. 97, 98. (Here p. 74.) of St. *Athanasius* and *Hosius*, as he did that of *Constantine*, with an Impossibility to Believe them. And when they speak in words most Express against the *Regale*, and Argue against the Thing: He would have Us believe, That they Spoke for it. That is, That they spoke only against the *Male-Administration* of it, Which supposes the Thing, and does establish it. Let the Reader look upon their Words in *The Case*, and ther needs no more to be said.

He says, p. 17. That of all Men living *Athanasius* could not do, what he

did do, that is, Upbraid *Constantius* for Acting without a Precedent; in making himself a Prince of Bishops, and to Preside in Ecclesiastical Judicatures. Which *St. Athanasius* likewise calls making of him *Anti-Christ*, that is, Setting himself up in the Place of *Christ*. Did *St. Athanasius* say so? Yes. The *Affertor* does not Deny it. But says, That of all Men Living he could not do it. I suppose he means, Ought not to have done it. But why so? Because he himself Appealed to the Emperor *Constantine* from the Synod of Tyre, and Caus'd them All to be Conven'd before him; and afterwards Resum'd his Episcopal Chair by Vertue of an Imperial Rescript, tho' he had been Depriv'd by a Synod. Here I must Repeat some words of this *Affertor*, with which he begins his Answer to what was objected from *Constantine*, and this of *St. Athanasius*, p. 12. It is a Pity the Story was not told quite out, that we might have Understood the whole Proceeding from the Beginning to the End; for then we might have formed a better Judgment of it. But thus to take and tell things by Halves, is a Certain way to be Deceiv'd ones self, and to Deceive others. We cannot therefor suppose, but that the *Affertor* knew very well the Incessant Malice and Persecutions with which the *Arians*, *Meletians* and *Euse-*



*Eusebians* Pursu'd this Great Champion of the *Christian Faith*, the Holy *Athanasius*, even to take away his Life; for Nothing but his *Death* they thought could secure them or their Cause. Therefor having got a *Pact Synod* of their own Party at *Tyre*, and the *Emperor's* Authority to Force *Athanasius* thither, they Allow'd him not to Sit as a *Bishop* in the *Council*, but put him, as a Criminal to the *Bar*, and Prefer'd Monstrous Accusations against him, as of *Rape*, and *Murder*, whereof, the *Emperor* had taken Cognizance. The *Civil Officers* of the *Emperor* took Part with the *Eusebians* against *Athanasius*: And tho' he had Fully and Evidently Acquitted himself of these False Accusations laid to his Charge, yet he could have no Justice; but on the Contrary, he was Forc'd to flie out of *Tyre* to save his Life from *Mobb* and *Assassination*. And went to the *Emperor*, desiring to be heard before himself, or a *Lawful* and fair *Synod*; For he had not gone to that of *Tyre*, if not Forc'd by the *Emperor's* Command. And lest these *Accusations* might take place against him, he Desir'd, That his Accusers at *Tyre* might be brought face to face with him before the *Emperor*. Whereupon he sent, not for the *Whole Synod*, for *All* of them, as the *Assertor* words

it, but for those of them that had Acted against *Athanasius*. And they did not *All* come, but *Eusebius* his Chief Prosecutor and *Five* more with him: Who going off from what *Athanasius* was Accused of at the *Synod*, which they could not Prove, laid a fresh Charge against him of *Treasonable Practices* against the *Emperor*. And their Cry, as of the *High-Priest*, &c. against his Master, prevail'd so far, that he was *Banish'd* to *Triers*. Which had not been the *Sentence*, if the *Emperor* had fully Believ'd them: But, as his Son *Constantine* the younger tells in his *Letter* to the Church at *Alexandria*, it was done, in Kindness to *Athanasius*, and to Secure his *Life* against these his Implacable *Enemies*, who thirsted after it. For he liv'd there under the Protection of this *Constantine* during his Father's Life, and in High *Esteem* and *Veneration* with him, as his said *Letter* does at large Express: And moreover, That his Father was fully *Resolv'd* to have Recall'd him from his *Banishment*, but was Prevented by Death; which he makes the Ground of his doing it afterwards. And his *Letter* to *Alexandria* is no ways *Imposing* or *Commanding*, but a *Recommending* of *Athanasius* in the Kindest Manner. And they Receiv'd him most gladly. And a *Synod* of  
of

of near an Hundred *Bishops* at *Alexandria*, did Vindicat him against what had been done in the *Synod* at *Tyre*; As did most other *Bishops* of the *Catholick Church*, to whom the sent *Circular Letters*, to Acquaint them with it, they being upon the Place, where the Accusations were laid against him; And his Opposers not being *Catholick Bishops*, but *Meletian Schismatics*.

Now to summ up the Evidence. Here is a *Bishop* forc'd to a *Paſt Synod*. Accus'd there of *Civil Crimes*, particularly of *Murder*, and over-Rul'd. He Appeals to the *King*, who had before taken Cognizance of this same Fact, and Examin'd into it. Afterwards, upon Accusations of *Treason*, he is *Banished*; Then *Recalled* and sent back to his *Church*, from which he had been Unjustly *Deposed* by a *Synod*, Pack'd up of *Schismatics*. Not *Imposed* upon his *Church* by the *King*, but barely *Recommended*. His *Church* receive him, and a *Synod* of his own *Country* vindicats him against that of a *Foreign Nation*, which had Condemn'd him; I think ther will need little *Pleading*. The true *Stating* of the *Case* does it. The *Emperor* went no further than the *Power* of the *Civil Sword*; and *St. Athanasius* hurt no *Right* of the *Church* in appealing to

him so far. Tho' if one or to'ther, or Both of them had too far; What then, All Men have *Failings*. Does this determine the *Right* or the *Wrong* of the *Cause*? Did this make it Impossible for *Constantine* or *St. Athanasius* to say those words which they did say! And it is not Deny'd but that they did say them, and that the *Quotations* are True. Only it is *Impossible*!

6. I shall not be so long upon the *Quotation* brought out of *Hosius*, which not only *Asserts* against the *Regale*, but *Argues* against it; against the *Thing*, and not the *Male-Administration*. I refer the Reader to it. All the Reason the *Assertor* gives why this could not be, is, Because *Hosius*, he says, sat as *President* in two several Councils, called by the *Emperor's Authority*. And what then? Who Deny's the *Emperor's Power* to Call a *Council*? Or that his *Subjects*, as well *Clergy* as the *Laiety*, are Obligated to Obey him, in All *Lawful* things?

But the Question is, Whether the *Church* have not a *Right*, nay a *Divine* and *Inherent Right* in *Council*, when they think it *Necessary*, either *Without*, or *Against* the *King's Command*; and run the Hazard of his *Displeasure*, or the *Penalties* of the *Laws*, if they Judge the *Case* so *Extreme* as to Require it? And this, not only in the *Case* of an *Heathen*, but of a *Christian King* or *State*,  
This



The *Affirmative* is now the Current Doctrin of the Church of England, as shewn in the Preface.

7. He makes much (p. 18.) of St. David's Translating the *Archi-Episcopal* See from *Caerleon* to his own *Menew* (now St. Davids) And that he did it, with the Assistance and Leave of the Renowned King *Arthur*.

To be sure, he had his *Leave*, if he had his *Assistance*. And that might be Requisite upon Many Accounts. And the *Concordat* or Good Agreement that ought to be kept up betwixt the Church and the State, Thou'd make all things be done by *Mutual Consent*, where it can be had.

This is brought as an Instance that the *Regale* obtain'd before the Times of *Popery* But it is not Altogether so strong an Instance as that Produc'd against it in *The Case*, Sect. xv. of Another Saint, St. Oudoceus his *Excommunicating* his own Kings, and bringing them under *Penance*. To which the *Affertor* Answers, *Thesis* vi. And makes short work with it, he calls it, in *Ridicule*, p. 69. *A Worthy Precedent to be Recommended to the Imitation of Posterity*; Which (says he) as Princes have more Wit, so I hope Bishops have More Grace than to Allow of. But we were not Asking his *Opinion*, we wou'd have some of his *Reasons*. However, the busi-

business here was Matter of *Fact*, not whether such things were *Well* or *Ill* done? But what was done? Whether the *Regale* did Obtain in *England* before the Times of *Popery*?

*This Author* hath, I perceive, a *Peculiar Happiness in Writing*, beyond that of other Men. If he Produce any *Precedents*, they must needs be of *Weight*; but let others Produce never so Many, they must be all so *Light*, as to be *Blown away with a Puff of Breath*. The *Regal Supremacy*. p. 34.

8. He spends from p. 19. to p. 24. in Distinguishing betwixt the *Essentials* and *Circumstantials* of Religion, Excluding the *Regale* from the *First*, and *Circumscribing* it to the *Last*. Of which before. But he keeps not Constant to his Theme, for he Asserts p. 20. The *Right of Princes* to Judge in Matters of *Faith*. That is sure in *Essentials*. But he says, *It is no more than what every Man doth, and what every Man must do*. Then indeed it is Unreasonable to Deny it to *Princes*! Every privat Man has a *Judgment of Discretion*, to Judge of All things as to Himself, even of the *Being* of a *God*, that is, Whether he will *Believe* or *Profess* it. But is that the *Judgment* here spoke of, here Contended for as a *Prerogative* of the *Regale*? Was that the *Judgment* Mention'd in *The Case*, p. 124. (in this *Edit.* p. 117.) put here up-  
on

on the *Margin*, to shew that it is *Answer'd* in this Place! There an *Authoritative Power of Judging*, so as to *Oblige the Subjects*, was the Point in hand, And particular Instances condescended upon, as to *Confirm* or *Rescind* the *Decisions* of a *Synod*, even in Matters of *Faith*; To *Regulate the Doctrins* of *FAITH*, and that in the most *Necessary Points* of it. And has *Every Man* a Power to *Judge*, in this Manner? The former, that of *Privat Judgment* or *Opinion*, is All the *Judgement* here *Attributed* to *Kings*: Is this then an *Answer* to that Part of *The Case* which it *Quotes*? I will not say, This *Mistake* of the *Affertor* was *Wilful*; Because I would Rather the Fault shou'd be laid upon his *Hast*, or *In-advertence*, than upon his *Integrity*.

But to give a *Positive Answer* to what I suppose the *Affertor* wou'd be at, I will Repeat it here again; That *Kings* or *States* having the *Whole Power* of the *Civil-Sword* committed unto them, They are the *Sole* and *Absolute Judges*, *When* and *How* to make use of it. They may *Set up*, and *Establiish* by their *Laws* what *Religion* they Please: And *Root out* (or *Persecute* the *True Religion*, if they think it otherwise. And the *Church* cannot *Defend* her self, nor her *Religion*, in such Case, by *Arms*, against a *Lawful Civil Authority*.

But

But this is no *Obligation* upon the *Conscience* of the *Subjects*; they are to *Follow* and *Obey* the *Church* in *Persecution*, and submit themselves to Her *Authority* in *Ecclesiastical* Matters, and the *Regiment* of the *Church*, and of *Religion*. For which they must not *Rebel* against the *Civil Power*, tho' their *Religion* had been formerly *Established* by *Law*, and so made *Part* of their *Property*. Will the *Affertor* go so Far with me? If not, then He, and not I, *Oppose* the *Regal Supremacy* in *Ecclesiastical Affairs*.

9. I come next to Consider of his Answer to p. 132. of *The Case* (here p. 123. which he puts upon the *Margin* of his *Refutation* of it, p. 24. And the *Affertor* has vary'd the *Case* as much here, as in the last Instance. There the *King* having a Superior *Ecclesiastical* Power in the *Church* is given as a *Tentation* to him to think her *Original* not to be *Divine*, when he finds her *Discipline* at his *Disposal*.

The *Affertor* turns it, That his having *Authority* and *Charge* to see that the *true Religion* be established in his *Dominions*, is no such *Tentation*. No. Far from it. But quite the *Contrary*. As *Contrary* as this is to the *Argument* it pretends to Answer.

10. All that is said to *Scēt.!* vii. of *The Case* concerning *David's* ordering the *Courses*



*Courses of the Priests, &c.* is in part of p. 26. of *Reg. Suprem.* which is, That tho' *David, Solomon, Hezekiah, &c.* were *Inspired*, and had *Particular Instructions* from God, about those *Matters*, yet; How do's it follow thence, that they *Acted* herein *Merely* by vertue of their *Inspiration*? Because such *Instructions* were Given them *Merely* for that Purpose. What is the End of Giving *Instructions* to any body? Is it not that they shou'd be *Observ'd*? Besides that these *Instructions* were of things which they cou'd not know otherwise, they were *Arbitrary*, and Depended not upon any *Rules of Morality or Justice*, as the *Utensils of the Temple*, their *Exact Weight and Measure, &c.* And also concerning the *Courses of the Priests, &c.*

Again Consider, This was only Answering an *Objection*. These *Texts* of *David's* Ordering the *Courses* of the *Priests*; and *Hezekiah's* setting the *Levites* in the *House of the Lord, &c.* Were brought as *Proofs*, and the Chief *Proofs* of the *Regale*; the *Christian Princes* having no other *Precedent* for their *Regale*, but that of the *Jewish Kings*. So that if these *Texts* are but *Render'd Un-Certain*, as to this Purpose, the *Foundation of the Regale* is Shaken. And as this *Affertor* says, *How do we know* that they *Acted* upon *Inspiration* or these *Particular Instructions* which they had given

given to them? It may be Retorted, *How do we know they did not?* That sure is Impossible. Therefor, by the *Affertors* own Confession, the *Regale* is *Dis-Arm'd* of the Force of these *Texts*.

But besides what is before said, There are other Reasons given in that *Sect. vii.* of *The Case*, why these *Kings* did Act purely upon these *Instructions* given to them; and not by Verue of their *Ordinary Regal Power*. As, 1<sup>st</sup>. That other *Kings* were *Blam'd*, and Severely *Punish'd* by God, for Attempting the like, as *Ieroboam* for *Depriving* the *Priests* in his *Kingdom*, who wou'd not own him as *King*. To which you have heard all the Answer that has been made. 2<sup>ly</sup>, It is said, That if these *Examples* be sufficient to Establish the *Regale*, then *Kings* may take upon them to *Preach*, to Consecrat *Bishops* and *Churches*, and to Dictat *Scriptures* for Us; they having *Examples* for all these things. To this, Nothing is Reply'd. So it is to be Suppos'd these Men think, whatever *Noise* they make with *Examples*, That ther must be something else *Necessary* to make a Good *Foundation* for the *Regale*.

But the *Affertor* adds, That *Gad* and *Nathan* and other *Prophets* were *Inspired likewise* and *Instructed* immediately by God concerning the same things, and yet we do not find that the *Doing* of them is  
any

any where *Attributed* to them, but only to the Kings. A strong Argument that they were Regal Acts, and done by the Kings in that Capacity.

The Answer to this is very Easie, That these *Commandments* were given to Kings by the *Prophets*, as it is Quoted in *The Case* from 2 Chr. xxix. 25. For so was the *Commandment* of the Lord, by his *Prophets*. And it was the Ordinary Office of the *Prophets*, to be sent with *Commandments* to the Kings, as well as to Others.

IV. In the vth *Thesis* he comes close to the Point, and Descends to the Particulars, as the King's Power in the *Nomination* and *Deprivation* of *Bishops*,

i. He says, p. 30. That Kings cannot otherwise take Care of Religion. Ans. They may do it by the Exercise of the *Civil-Sword*. That is their *Province*. And ther is a Great Deal in it. It is a *Mighty Power*. We all Feel the *Influence* and *Effects* of it. But cou'd the *Affertor* pass this over, without thinking of the other Side of the Case. How the *Bishops*, to whom *Christ* has Committed the Care of His *Flock*, and from whom He will Require an Account of their *Souls*; How they shall Effectually Discharge this Great *Trust*; if they have not the *Choice* of those whom they Employ; especially of their *Felo*

*low-Bishops, the Governors of the Church? If the Disciplin Intrusted with them, for the Necessary Government of their Body, must be Wholly Dependant upon Another Power, who may not be Always their Friends? If these two Powers were kept Independent of each other, they might Each Exert their Full Power; and the one assist the other. But when they are Made Dependant upon one Another, the one must get the Ascendant over the other, ther must be Contests till the one is Dead; that is, Quite Subdu'd under the other, so as to make no more Opposition. As the Church in Holland, and the State in Rome. And till it is come to that Pass, the one must Hinder and Retard the other, and Encroach upon one Another; instead of Joining and Encouraging each in the Common Good for which they were Both Ordain'd.*

2. He says, That in the Primitive Church the Choice of Bishops was by the whole Body of the Church both Clergy and Laity. But from the Beginning it was not so. Not in the First Ages of the Church. And afterwards the Testimony and Consent of the People is by many Mistaken for their Election. But there was a Time when Popular Elections did too Much Prevail; and occasion'd Great Tumults and Blood-shed. And might



might give Occasion for the *Emperors* to take the *Elections* into their own hands. They were better there than in the *Mob*. But this Matter is not taken to Consideration in *The Case*. It is another Subject. And I will not Digress here.

3. The *Affertor* works himself up to a Passion, p. 31, 33. against p. 143. (it is wrong Printed in *Reg. Supremacy*, p. 31. and call'd 123.) of *The Case*, (here p. 147.) and gives the worst words to the *Author* that he does in all his Book; he says (*Whether out of his own Ignorance, or, what is worse, Pre-judgment upon that of his Reader, I know not*) what was the Fault? He tells p. 33. *With what face then can any Man Assert, That the Emperor's Authority in the Election of Bishops, Began, in Charles the Great?* To this I have Two things to say, in behalf of that *Author*. 1st. That did not say so. He did not say it *Began* then; but that it *Prevail'd* from that time. Ther might have been some Instances of it before. But from that time it came to be a General Custom in the *Latin World*, as is there said, that is, the *Roman Empire*. And it is not said, That Pope *Adrian I.* did *first* give way to this. But that he *Settl'd* it by an *Ecclesiastical Establishment*, And that *It was the Pope who*  
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first THOROWLY settled the Regale. Now the *Affertor* knows (at least if I know him) That ther is a Difference betwixt a *Settlement*, and a *Thorough Settlement*.

But the 2d thing I have to say for the *Author* of the *Case*, is, That it is very Lucky these *Hard words* fell upon him in this Place. For, as it happened, he was there only Quoting of *Grotius*. Who therefor is Answerable for the *Ignorance* or *Presumption* here Charg'd upon an Innocent Man. And so we Pass on to the Next, which is,

4. His Answer to the several Instances of *Princes*, who, out of Conscience, have Renounc'd their *Regale*. To this he gives two *Queres*, p. 34, 35. 1st. How do we know it was out of *Conscience* they did it? 2d. If their *Conscience* was *Rightly Inform'd*? For the last, It was not the business of bringing these *Instances* to shew any any thing of that. That depends upon the *Arguments* and *Reasons* brought for it in *The Case*: These *Instances* are only for *Confirmation*, to shew, That *Princes* themselves, who were Chiefly concern'd, who had all the *Baits* of *Worldly Ambition*, and *Temporal Security* (as it is thought by some) to Persuade them on the side of the *Regale*; yet, out of *Conscience*, as being

a *Most Wicked* thing, did *Renounce* it, and Give it up. And for the first *Quere*, we know they did it out of *Conscience*, because they said so, and call'd it *Most Wicked*, and thought that the *Accepting* it, (Even when offer'd, and by those who had, in their Estimation, Power to Grant it, if any such Power was upon Earth, as of the Pope to K. Lewis VII. of France) would Endanger their Souls burning in *Hell-Fire*.

5. But leaving that of *Precedents*, he comes now to the *Reason* of the thing, p. 37. And says, *It is Certain that the Nomination and Investiture of Bishops was their (King's) Right. And gives no other Reason. Only Refers to Mason, De Minist. Angl. l. 4. c. 13, of which he gives this Account, viz. That it belongs to Kings upon a double Account. 1st, of their Supremacy. 2d, Their Right of Patronage. For the 1st, He brings Solomon and Abiathar, as a Standing Rule for Princes to Act by. And from Isa. xlix. 23. of Kings being Nursing-Fathers, he, says the Assertor, Proves it to be the Duty of Princes to furnish the Church with Bishops and Pastors. But how he Proves it, the Assertor does not tell us. Then for the 2d, The King's Right of Patronage, he says, p. 38. It comes from*

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their *Founding* and *Endowing* of *Bishopricks*. From whence a Right of *Presentation* must Accrue by the *Imperial* Laws, and *Canons* of the *Church*. And this, says he, *I think may be Sufficient to Prove the Right of Princes to the Nomination of Bishops*. And this is All he says to it.

But he could not be Ignorant, that *The Case of the Regale* did not Proceed upon the *Imperial* Laws, or *Canons*. Especially those of later Date, since the *Regale* has obtain'd. And therefor, That this was no *Answer* at all to the *Arguments* there brought of *Original* Right. And from hence, suppose (tho' no ways *Granting* it) That a King's *Founding* a *Bishoprick* gave him the *Presentation* to it: Yet what shall we say to all those *Bishopricks* which were not *Founded* by *Kings*? Not one in the *World* for the first 300 Years. And the Greatest Part of those Continue to this Day. Nor were All since *Founded* by *Kings*. So that the *Regale*, by this, will be somewhat *Curtail'd*.

6. He comes next to the *Deprivation* of *Bishops*, p. 39. And gives the same Reason, as before for the *Nomination* of them, How shall the *King* otherwise take Care of *Religion*? To which the Answer before given may serve.

But



But he Adds an *Objection*, How otherwise had the *Reformation* gone on, in the time of the *Popish Bishops*? To which I say, 1st. That *Objections* are no *Answers*. And I might Reply, How might the *Reformation* have gone out again, 14 Years ago, by the same Rule? But, 2dly, Will he Allow me, That ther is any *Herese* in *Popery*? If so, Then, by the 15th *Can.* of the *Synod of Constantinople* (which *Dr. Hody* has omitted in his Edition of the *Baroccian Manuscript*, but is Added at the End of the *Vindication of the Depriv'd Bishops*.) Not only the *King*, but every Man in *England*, might have left those *Popish Bishops*, even Before *Synodical Condemnation*: Because they not only Held such *Heresies*; but did *Publickly Preach and Teach the same*, *Barefac'd in the Church*. In which Case the *Council* says, That whoever *Separat from them*, even before *Synodical Condemnation*, are not *Guilty of Schism*; but have *Endeavour'd to Preserve the Unity of the Church from Schisms and Divisions*, by *Condemning not a Bishop, but a False Bishop, and a False Teacher*.

If you say, That a *Popish King* may think the *Doctrins* which we *Publickly Preach and Teach* to be *Herese*. I Answer, 1st. That the *Church of Rome* do's Charge Us with not Holding so much as they do, as *Purgatory, Invocation of*

*Saints*, &c. But they hold All to be of *Faith* that we do. So that they think us to be *Defective* Christians. I know no sober *Rom. Cath.* in *England* will call us *Hereticks* for Denying the *Pope's Infallibility*, or for not *Worshipping* of God by *Images* of Him, or not *Praying* to *Saints*, tho' we Charge them with *Idolatry* for some of these things. Therefor ther is a Great Difference betwixt the *Negatives* with which they Charge Us, and the *Affirmative Heresies* we Charge upon them. Ther is nothing in our *Liturgie* with which they cannot Join: But ther is a Great deal in their *Maß* in which we cannot Join.

However I Answer, 2dly, That suppose a *Popish King* do think Us *Hereticks*; and make Use of the *Civil-Sword* against Us. This is only the old Case of *Persecution*. Of which *St. John* saith unto the Churches, *Here is the Faith and Patience of the Saints*. But this do's not *Determin Conscience*. And of that onely is our *Dispute*. And tho' I think even upon the *Argument of Convenience* the *Ballance* lies against the *Regale*: Yet the only thing that can *Determin Us* in this Point, is the *Right*, and where *Christ* has Plac'd the *Nomination* or *Deprivation* of *Bishops*, whether in the *Church* or the *State*.

7. We come now to the Great *Refuge* of the *Regale*, the Case of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*. Wherein the *Assertor* has taken much Pains, from p. 39. to p. 49. And the way has mist the Mark, one wou'd think, studiously: For he insists upon *Passages* that were not Brought as any *Proofs*; but only as *Digressions* of *Curiosity* which that Subject Afforded: as that of *Eli's* Usurping the *High-Priesthood*, when he was *Chief Governor*; where Suppositions are given on Both sides: That of *Abiathar* being no more than the *Second H. Priest*, which I think much more Evident. But it is all one to our Case, because *Solomon* had no more Power to *Deprive* the *Second*, than the *First H. Priest* or any *Priest* at all. Ther are several things in the *Assertor's* Descants upon these and other out-lying Passages (he loves *Coasting*) with which I could Entertain the Reader; But I cannot stay now. I will only Press the Point in hand.

It is said in *The Case*, beginning of *Sect. viii.* That the *Sentence* of *Solomon* against *Abiathar* was purely a *Civil Sentence*, and for a *Civil Crime*. The *Sentence* is there set down *verbatim*, and no Man can find any thing else in it. But then it is said, as a Consequence of this *Sentence*, That *Abiathar* was thrust out from being *Priest*, that is,

from Executing the *Priest's Office* at *Jerusalem*, which was a Necessary Consequent of his *Banishment*; and the *Assertor* does Urge it no further, not to Imply a *Degrading* him from his *Office*. Well, when he was gone, Who should supply his *Place*? For some *Place* he had in the *Temple-Service*, in the *Courses* of the *Priests*, 1 Chr. xxiv. 3. 6. no Matter now whether 1st, 2d, or 3d. That was put upon *Zadok*. Who if not Always Superior to *Abiathar* (as I still believe he was) yet surely was the *next* to him. And so had Right, of Course to supply his *Place*, during his *Absence*. It is Ask'd therefor, whether *Solomon* could have put any other than *Zadok*, in the Room of *Abiathar*? Could he make any whom he had pleas'd *High-Priest*? To this the *Assertor* gives no Answer. Then again, it is said, That *Abiathar* was not so much as *Depriv'd*, because, 1 Kin. iv. 4. he is, in *Solomon's* Reign, and after the *Sentence* of *Banishment* past upon him, still Reckon'd *Priest* jointly with *Zadock*, in the same Manner as Always before, even in the Reign of *David*. And to this nothing is Answer'd. So that ther Appears no more in this Mighty Case, but a *Civil* Sentence past upon *Abiathar*; and during his Necessary *Absence* from the *Temple*, his *Place* or *Course* Supply'd by *Zadok*, who had the Right so to do.

Other



Other Conjectures may be Discours'd of, and other *Circumstances* which are not told in the *Text* : But this was the *Answer* given. And to this the *Affertor* has made no *Reply*. One would have thought that this had been Plain enough Exprest ; But when Men are *Loath to Understand*, it is very *Hard to Persuade* them ! Therefor let me Trespas upon the more Judicious Readers, to make this yet Plainer by a Late and Familiar Example. After Dr. *Sancroft* was *Depriv'd*, and Dr. *Tillotson* put into his Place, Would the *Present State of England*, giving an Account of the *Great Officers in Church and State*, in the *Reign of K. William*, Name Dr. *Sancroft* as still *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* ? Therefor, since *Abiathar*, after his being *Thrust out*, and *Zadok* put in his Room, was still Reckon'd *Priest* or *High-Priest*, in the *Reign of Solomon*, as formerly in the *Reign of David*, it must follow that he was not *Depriv'd*. Which further appears by what we have from the *Jewish Rabbies*, that *Abiathar* had the *Revenues and Possessions* belonging to his *Priesthood*, still continu'd to him after his *Banishment* and during his *Life* : And was still own'd *High-Priest* as before. This appears agreeable to the *Sentence* pass'd upon him. 1 *Kin.* ii. 26. *Get thee to Anathoth unto thine own fields ;*  
which

which we find *Josh. xxi. 18.* was part of the *Possessions* given to the *Sons of Aaron the Priests*; And to his still being reckon'd *High-Priest* in the Reign of *Solomon. 1 Kin. iv. 4.* Here is both his *Dignity* and *Possessions* continued to him. This will not answer our Notion of *Deprivation*!

The Difference betwixt the way of Argumentation used in *The Case*, and by this *Affertor*, is, That *The Case* go's upon Plain Matter of *Fact*, which is *Un-Deniable*, and the surest Method of coming at the *Truth*, especially when the Dispute is only about Matter of *Fact*, as in this Case. But the whole Stress of the *Affertor* is in *Criticising* upon an *Expression*, and the *Wording* of an *Historical* Relation, which may be Capable of Different Meanings. And he would set up this to over-throw the Plain Matter of *Fact* Deliver'd in the *History*. Whereas the Matter of *Fact* is the onely *Sure* way to Determine the Meaning of the *Expressions*.

And it is so Sure a way; That tho' the very Word *Deprived* had been in the *Text*, that *Solomon* had *Depriv'd Abiathar*, yet it must have been Understood according to the Current of the *History*, and no otherwise. It is said, *Judg. xvii. 12.* That *Micah Consecrated the Levit.* And, *1 Kin. xiii. 33.* That *Jeroboam Made and Consecrated the Priests.*

*Priests.* Here are *Texts* not only for *Kings* but every Master of a *Family* to *Consecrate Priests*. More Positive than *Solomon's Depriving Abiathar*, because it is not so *Expresly* said, only that he *Thrust him out*, which the *Affertor* will have to Mean *Deprived*, and that in the *Ecclesiastical* Sense. Whereas it is only an *Expression* to shew the *Consequence* of that *Sentence* past upon *Abiathar*; And therefor can never be *Extended* further than the *Sentence* it self; And must be *Construed* in a *Sense* Agreeable to the *Sentence*. But that would not serve the *Affertor's Purpose*: Therefor, tho' nothing *Ecclesiastical*, but *Purely Civil* can be found in the *Sentence* past upon *Abiathar*: And that he was still *Reckon'd High-Priest* as much as before; yet all this *Notwithstanding*, it must not be so! Why? Because of the *Manner* in which it was *Express'd*, That he was *Thrust out from being Priest*. Yet the *Affertor* Allows that he was *Priest* still, and was not *De-Graded* by this, tho' the word is *from BEING Priest*. But that it must *Infer* he was *Depriv'd*, that is, from the *Exercise* of his *Office*; And the Word *Being* must there Mean not *Being a Priest*, but onely *Exercising*—But his *Banishment* did *Thrust him out* from *Exercising* his *Office*. So that even upon the *Nicety* of the *Word*, as  
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Expounded by the *Affertor*, ther is no Necessity of supposing this to be so much as a *Deprivation*. And if the *Word* must stand *Literally*, without any *Exposition*, then it must Infer a *De-Gradation*, which the *Affertor* will not Allow. So that the *Affertor* will not have the word taken *Literally* and *Strictly*, that *Abiathar* was *Thrust out* from BEING a *Priest*, as if he were no More a *Priest*: And the *Exposition* he gives of BEING, that it signifies, in this Place, onely EXERCISING, is solv'd by the *Banishment* of *Abiathar*, as well as by his *Deprivation*: But with this Difference; That if it was only *Banishment*, he would be still Reckon'd *High-Priest*, as before; because *Banishment*, being only a *Civil Punishment*, it did not at all *Respect* his *Ecclesiastical Character*; but if he was *Depriv'd* from his *Ecclesiastical Dignity*, and his *Right* to it *Vacated*, then he would no longer, especially after Another being put in his *Place*, be call'd by the Name of such a *Dignity*, wherein he was *Superseded*. Now the *History* telling Us, that he was still Reckon'd *High-Priest*, as much as before; Therefor it must follow, That he was not *Depriv'd*, only *Banish'd* instead of being put to *Death*, as others were for the same *Crime*, that is, *Treason*. And why should not a *Civil Crime* be Punish'd by a *Civil* Sen-



Sentence rather than by an *Ecclesiastical*? It is most *Natural*. So that, on all sides, this Passage is Clear'd up. And to Return the *Smartness* of the *Affertor*, upon this very *Instance*, p. 46. which he *Thinks*, at least, *Boasts* he has made so *Clear*; it is *He*, and the *Some few* on his side (or if they are never so *Many*) who have taken *Incredible Pains* (by *Playing with Words*, against the *Current of the History*) to find a *KNOT* in a *BULRUSH*. And ther is no need to have *Recourse to Inspiration or Extraordinary Commissions*, to solve what *Solomon* did to *Abiathar*, for as the *Affertor* says truly (*ibid.*) *What signify'd Inspiration in this Case? The Punishment of a Traytor belongs to the Regal Office.*

Tho', at the same time, *Solomon* being *Inspir'd* in so *Extraordinary* a Manner, it is much more *Probable* that he had *Respect* to that *Prophecy* there mention'd 1 *Kin.* 2. 27. than the *Soldiers* in  *Casting Lots* for the *Garments* of our *B. Saviour*. Which the *Affertor* brings, p. 47. as a *Parallel Case*. But the *Difference of Expression* is *Remarkable*, for in that of the *Soldiers*, it is said, *That it might be fulfill'd which was spoken by the Prophet.* The *Prophecy* was thus fulfill'd, tho' the *Soldiers*, knew nothing of it. But in the *Case of Solomon* it is not said, *That it might be fulfill'd*, but *That he might fulfill*, which *Argues* something more of *Intention* in *Solomon*

*Solomon* than in the *Soldiers*. But I *In-*  
*sist* not upon this, or the *Nicety* of  
*Expressions*; I rather Choose to follow  
the *Clew* the *History*, and Matter of  
*Fact*, which is much more Certain.  
Therefor whether *Solomon* did this by *In-*  
*spiration*, or not, is not Material to the  
Point in hand, since in the Tract of the  
Story, he did no more than what was  
within the Ordinary *Regal Power*: Tho'  
the *Assertor* can bring no Argument so  
strong against its being done by *Inspi-*  
*ration*, as ther is for its being so done.

He Dallys likewise with that *Expres-*  
*sion*, 1 *Kin.* 2. 35. That the King put  
*Zadok* in the Room of *Abiathar*, and  
makes it as much an Act of the ordi-  
nary *Regal Power*, as his putting *Bena-*  
*iah* in the Room of *Joab*, who was Ge-  
neral of the *Army*. p. 45. And he *In-*  
*sults* too much upon this, before he had  
put off his *Armour*. For,

1. Whether *Abiathar* was the *First*  
or *Second H. Priest*, it was the *Right* of  
*Zadok* to Succeed him, supposing him  
*Depriv'd*. And it was Ask'd, Whe-  
ther *Solomon* could have put any other  
in his Room? To which the *Assertor*  
has not Adventured to Answer. Where-  
as, I suppose, he will make no Difficul-  
ty to say, That *Solomon* might have put  
whom he Pleas'd in the Room of *Joab*.

2. Suppose *Abiathar* not *Depriv'd*,  
only Hindered, by his *Banishment*, from  
Ex-

Executing his Part of the *Courses* of the *Priests* in the *Temple* (And he had the *Precedency* of *Eight* of the *Twenty four Courses*, 1 Chr. xxiv. 4.) Then the *King's* putting *Zadok* over these *Right Courses* (as he was over the other *Sixteen* before) during the *Absence* of *Abiathar*, as it was *Regular*, and onely Executing the *Canons* of the *Church*, which is the *Right* and *Duty* of all *Christian Kings*: So do's it come Naturally Under the Head of Ordering the *Courses* of the *Priests*, which by an *Express* and *Extra-ordinary Commission* was given by *God* to *David* and *Solomon*, and that in *Writing*. 1 Chr. xxviii. 13, 19. But the *Assertor* would have had this of *Abiathar* particularly Nam'd there; tho' none of the other *Priests* or their *Regulations* in their *Courses* are Nam'd in that *Chapter*. And besides this was in the *Reign* of *David*, before *Abiathar* had Committed that *Treason*, for which he was afterwards *Banish'd* by *Solomon*. Yet the *Assertor* is very Angry it was not Nam'd, before it came to pass, and makes this *Omission* a *Nullity* of the whole *Cause*. For *How* then comes it to pass (says he, p. 47) That in the *Account* we have of these *Courses* 1 Chr. xxiv. where, as the *Author* of *The Case* himself observes, every thing is most *Particularly* set down, we find not so much as one *Word* concerning  
this

this Part? The Omission of this Part, this Principal part, had it been really such, was very Gross. But no more need be said of this; the Silence of the Scripture in this Case, is a sufficient Refutation of so Groundless a Surmise. Here let me observe the Dexterity of this Assertor; That most Minute and Particular Description of the Temple and its Utensils, and Also for the Courses of the Priests, which is set down in The Case, is from 1 Chr. xxviii. But the Assertor here turns the Reader for it to Chap. xxiv. as if The Case had Plac'd it There. And the Reader not finding of it There, ther is a Full Confutation of The Case!

But, in the Next place, Those Divisions of the Courses Mentioned 1 Chr. xxiv. were Distributed by David, as it is Expressly said Ver. 3. Which was before this Case of Abiathar happened.

And is all this to be said in the Case of Solomon's putting Benajah in the Room of Joab? Is ther no more in one Case, than in the Other? In the Case of Distributing the Courses of the Priests, than of Marshalling the Army? Were Particular Instructions given to David or Solomon, in the one Case, as in the other?

3. What Prophecy was Fulfill'd in the Case of Benajah? Or did Solomon do it for any such End? Tho', as I said, I Insist not on this.



But here tho' the Cause be Determin'd, yet I must take Notice of the *Affertor* in p. 44. Giving up his Chief Strength, whereupon he lays most Strefs, tho', as I said, it Concerns not the Cause at all, that is, That *Abiathar*, and not *Zadok* was the *Supreme High-Priest*; till *Zadok* was Anointed with *Solomon*, 1 *Chr.* xxix. 22. And that, from that time (which was before the Death of *David*) he became the *Supreme High-Priest*. For by this, *Zadok*, and not *Abiathar*, was the *Supreme H. Priest*, before the *Deprivation* (as he wou'd have it) of *Abiathar*. Which is All in which this Cause is Concern'd.

But how do's he Prove that *Zadok* was not *High Priest* before? He Supposes it, in the same place p. 44. Because *Zadok* was then Anointed, that is, with *Solomon*, when he was Anointed to be King. And thence he onely Supposes, that *Zadok* was not H. Priest before. But in the same Verse which he there Quotes 1 *Chr.* xxix. 22. It is said, That they made *Solomon* King the Second time. Which the *Affertor*, Repeating the Verse, leaves out. Ther was a Reason. For why may not a Priest be made, that is Recogniz'd the Second or Third time, as well as a King? *Saul* was Twice made King. 1 *Sam.* x. 1. xi. 15. And Hands were Laid upon *Barnabas*  
d and

and Saul after their being *Apostles*, upon that Particular Occasion for which they were sent at that time. *Act. xiii. 3.*

In the Next place, he shou'd have Prov'd that *Anointing* was Necessary for Every *High Priest*. It is not to a *King*. For he is *King*, and may be a Long time, even all his Life, without being *Crown'd*. And he may be *Crown'd* several times, if ther be occasion. *Zadok* was called *Priest*, and Always put before *Abiathar*, wherever they are Nam'd together, long before this *Anointing*. And he being Chosen, and not *Abiathar*, to be *Anointed* with *Solomon*, in the time of *David*, shews that he was then Reckon'd the Chief of the Two. Therefor his being put Afterwards in the Room of *Abiathar*, was onely to Supply those *Courses*, which belong'd to *Abiathar*, and not any New *Advancement* of him Above *Abiathar*. For, as the *Affertor* will have it; he was Above *Abiathar*, and was the *Supreme H. Priest*; before that, that is, ever since his being *Anointed* with *Solomon*.

But the *Affertor* Asks, p. 45. *Who ever call'd the Banishment of a Priest, a Thrusting him from the Priesthood? Was not the Banishment of David, when he Fled out of the Land for Absalom, a Thrusting him from the Throne? Was not*

not the *Banishment* of K. *Char.* 2d. (to name no more) of the same kind? And it might have been Call'd, and was Call'd a *Depriving* them of their *Kingdoms*. Yet they did not Under-stand it to be such a *Deprivation*, as Destroy'd their *Right*. When St. *Athanasius* was *Banished* by *Constantine* to *Triers*, might he not be said to be *Depriv'd* of his *Church* at *Alexandria*? Yet it is not so much as Pretended, that the *Sentence* of *Constantine* was an *Ecclesiastical*, or any other than a *Civil Punishment*.

This it is, to Trifle with *Words*, and Oppose such *Childrens-Play* to Solid *History* and Matter of *Fact*!

I think we need not Pursue the *Affertor* any farther, upon this Point. I shall only desire the Reader to look back to p. And see the Reasons there against making this *Example* of *Solomon* a *Precedent*, if taken in the Sense of these *Affertors* of the *Regale*.

Let me mind them but of one *Text* Now come in my Way. It is said of *Solomon* 1 *Kin.* ix. 25. *And he burnt Incense upon the Altar that was before the Lord; so he finished the House.* Yet for Attempting the same thing King *Uzziah* was stricken with *Leprosie* to the Day of his *Death*. It seems the *Example* of *Solomon* was no safe *Precedent* for him! Tho' the *Affertor*

commends it to all *Christian Kings*, and says, *It is safe Arguing from this Precedent.* Which is, for more *Notoriety*, put thus in his *Contents*. Perhaps *Jeroboam* too Understood *Solomon's* Thrusting out *Abiathar*, as the *Affertor* has done! And Try'd to Imitat him, in *Depriving* of his *Priests*, who were Guilty of the same *Crime*, that is, *Treason* against him. But the *Thanks* he got for it, is no great *Encouragement* for any other *King* to Follow him in the like. And *Christian Kings* are oblig'd to the *Affertor* for his *Love*, in *Persuading* them to try the *Experiment* over Again! Moreover let them Remember (tho' it will *Provoke* the *Priest-Craft-Men*) That it was *Reckon'd* *Pride* in the *King* to Assume to Himself the *Office* of a *Priest*. 2 Chr. xxvi. 16.

But *The Case* concludes this *Seet*. viii. of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, with an *Argument*, N. 6. to which the *Affertor* has thought fit to say—*Nothing!*

And it is the Most *Material* of All. And summs up the whole, that is, That the *Jewish Kings* cou'd not *Alter* the *Aaronical Priesthood*, and set up other *Priests* in their *Place*. That they cou'd do it, the *Affertor* Durst not *Assert*, And yet what he *Advances* upon this *Case* of *Abiathar*, do's *Infer* that they cou'd do it. For by the same *Right* that



that a *King* can *Deprive* One *Priest*, he may *Another*, and *Another*, and so to the End, seeing, as the *Assertor* owns, p. 50. they *All* hold, *By one and the same Tenure*, and are *subject to the same Power* that *One* is.

How he comes off of this, is the Next thing I Present you with.

8. We are now Arriv'd at something Material, that is, the Answer given to what is laid down in the Beginning of *The Case*, p. 2. as a *Foundation* for what follows; And which is Apply'd p. 85. (Here p. 66.) That the Power of *Deprivation* being Lodg'd in the *State*, they may *Deprive* All the *Bishops* in the Kingdom, and even *Vacate* the *Apostolical* Commission, in the hands of the *Bishops*, their *Successors*. To this says the *Assertor*, p. 49, 50. That the *King* may *Deprive* *Some*, but not *All* in the Kingdom, Unless he put *Others* in their Room. And, says he, *Show'd a Prince be so* **PROPHANE**, as to *Abolish* by an *Act* the *Whole* College of *Bishops*, nobody wou'd be obliged to take any Notice of it. It was said in the same Paragraph which he Quotes of *The Case* p. 2. That *Episcopacy* was *Vacated* in *Scotland*. And again in p. 85. Which he likewise Quotes in this same Place. I will not Presume to Guess whom he means by *Prophane*; onely to let him see into  
d 3i what

what Inconvenience his *Hypothesis* runs him Unawares! It will not be Stinted. *Prerogative* must have *All* or *None*.

9. Against that Position, That no *Authority* less than that which gives any *Commission*, can stop the *Execution* of it, he says p. 51. That an *Arch-Bishop* alone may suspend a *Bishop*, whereas he cannot *Consecrat* (he shou'd have said *Deprive*, to make it come up to the Case) without the *Assistance* of Two more at least. Ans. The Power of an *Arch-Bishop* to *Suspend*, and the *Limitation* not to *Consecrat* or *Deprive* Alone, is all from the *Canons*, which is the *Authority* of the *Episcopal College*; And this the *Arch-Bishop* do's but *Execute*.

10. He falls into a Merry vein, and Laughs it out for several Pages together, from p. 51. to p. 59. at an Advantage he thinks he has got, for the *Relation* betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Flock* being call'd a *Marriage*. Then he Applies it *Literally* to *Marriage*; And, being *Cunning*, has found out several things wherein they do not Exactly Agree, And that the *Simile* do's not go upon all Four. He makes every *Translation* of a *Bishop* from one *See* to Another, an *Adultery*: And then, if ther be several *Translations*, The *Bishop*, (says he) *Must be an Intolerable FORNICATOR*. This

This was *Witty!* or *Prophane!* But in good Earnest did this *Assertor* never hear before of a *Marriage* betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Flock!* Did he think this a New Invention of the *Author* of *The Case*, that he has Paid him so Unmercifully for it! Did he never hear of a *Ring*, as well as a *Pastoral Staff* us'd in the *Investiture* of *Bishops*; and that the *Ring* was used as an Emblem of the *Marriage* betwixt the *Bishop* and his *Flock!* Did he no where *Read*, or has *Heard*; That among the *Primitive Fathers*, particularly in *St. Cyprian's* time, an *Anti-Bishop*, who *Usurp'd* upon the *Rightful Bishop*, was call'd an *Adulterer!*

But he *Objects* that the *Marriage* is betwixt *Christ* and the *Church*. That had been *Materially* observ'd, if it had not been *Expresly* so declared in *The Case*, in the very Place he *Quotes*; where the *Bishop* is onely called an *Ambassador* of *Christ*, who *Marries* the *Church* to *Christ*, by *Proxy*, and in His *Name*. And then our *Bishop* Representing *Immediately* the *Person* of *Christ* to Us, and standing in *His* stead, according to the *Language* of *St. Ignatius* and other the *Most Primitive Fathers*, is very good Ground to call this a *Marriage*, tho' but in the *Secondary* Sense, betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Flock*; and the *Inwader* of the *Bishops* Right, an *Adulterer*. And thus the *Stile* of the *Primitive Fa-*

thers, more than of the *Author of The Case*, is Justified.

But then, Why is not the *Translation* of a *Bishop* from one *See* to *Another*, an *Adultery*; as well as an *Anti-Bishop* thrusting out the *Lawful Bishop*?

Because *here* are *Two Husbands* or *Bishops*, and one must be an *Adulterer*: Which in the *other Case* is not.

But can a *Bishop* once *Marry'd* to a *Flock* leave that, and be *Succeeded* by *Another Bishop* in his *Life time*? Yes, as an *Ambassador* who *Beds* a *Queen*, may be *Succeeded* by *Another*, and *Another*, sent from the same *Prince*; Who may likewise *Perform* the same *Ceremony*, if there be occasion for it. And the same *Ambassador* may *Marry* several *Queens*, in the *Name* of several *Princes*. But an *Anti-Ambassador*, who sets up in *Opposition* to him, and Pretends to be *Delegated* from the same *Prince*, and wou'd *Rival* him in his *Office*, is, sure, a *Different Case*.

He Objects again, p. 56. That our *Union* with *Christ* is *Immediat*. He does not Mean as to His *Person*. And are the *Influences* of *His Holy Spirit* less *Immediat*, that they are *Convey'd* to us by *outward Administrations*, as of *Prayers*, *Sacraments*, *Preaching*, &c. And by *Proper Hands*, whom he has separated for that *Office*? If there be any thing in this

Ob-



*Objection*, it will throw down all *Priesthood*, *Sacraments*, and other *Means of Grace*, as well as *Bishops*. And to keep nearer to the Comparison, is a Man's *Marriage* with his Wife the less *Immediate*, that it is *Solemniz'd* by a *Priest*?

But it is a strange *Objection*, and which I confess I never *Dream'd of*, that he makes, p. 55. And so Runs on with it, till he meets with what I nam'd last, and Afterwards to p. 58. As if all must be *Damn'd*, without *Retrieve*, who Die in the *Vacancy* of a *Bishoprick*; because then, they have no *Marriage* with *Christ*, for Want of *Marriage* to a *Bishop*. This is perfect *Teazing*, and *Schooling* the *Author*, to see if he had learn'd his *Catechism*. However, I will be in Earnest with him, and Desire him to Consider of the Difference betwixt *Living* or *Dying* in the *Vacancy* of a *Bishoprick* (since he will have it so) And in open *Opposition* to, and *Separation* from the Whole *Order of Episcopacy* which *Christ* has Establish'd in the Earth. Or, 2dly, To subject that Whole *Order*, to the *Arbitrary Will* and *Pleasure* of *Secular Powers*; by Admitting it in *One Case*, which Includes all the *Rest*. And 3dly, in *Affiance* of such *Secular Power*, to Join with an *Anti-Bishop*, against the *Rightful Bishop*; Whether this be the same *Case*, as that of a *Vacancy*!

More

More Especially in this *Affertor* and others who are for *Episcopacy*; And *Press* it as far as the *Author* of *The Case*, even when they *Oppose* him. For Example, in this very Place, p. 56. he says, *It is a very False and Dangerous Position, That who keep outward Communion with the Bishop, do thereby Partake of the Inward Communion with Christ. Indeed (says he) the Reverse of this Position is true; viz. That whosoever will Partake of an Inward Communion with Christ, must keep Outward Communion with their Bishop: for Schism is as Damning a Sin as Murther or Adultery; And if Obstinately Persisted in to the last, destroys all Hope of Salvation.* In the first place I desire the *Affertor* to Consider here over again his *Objections* of our *Immediat Communion with Christ*, and the *Vacancy* of a *Bishoprick*; and see if he can get Loose any way, that will not likewise Release the *Author* of *The Case*? But in the Next place, I Appeal to the Reader, if he can find out the *Reverse* to that *Position* which is here call'd *False and Dangerous*, in that other *Position* which is set up for the *Truth*? And whether they do not both seem to be the very same? Onely that which is call'd the *Reverse*, is worded more *Positively* and *Strongly*. The Difference the *Affertor* wou'd make, is, As if by the *first Position* it were Meant,

Meant, That keeping *Outward Communion* with the *Bishop*, were of it self Alone Sufficient to give the *Inward Communion* with *Christ*, tho' to *Atheists* and *Infidels* (as he words it) But that he makes indeed by the *Reverse Position*, keeping *outward Communion* with the *Bishop* a *Causa sine qua non*, without which, there is No hope of *Salvation*, while *Obstinately Persisted in*. Now can he, can any Man upon the Earth Imagine, that when it was said, *He that keeps outward Communion with his Bishop, do's Partake of the Inward Communion with Christ*, it was Meant, tho' he did it *Hypocritically*, even tho' an *Atheist* or *Infidel*? Did *St. Ignatius* Mean so? who says in his Ep. to *St. Polycarp*, *Ἀντιτύχοι ἐγὼ* — *My Soul for theirs who are in Obedience to their Bishop* — *Let my Lot be with them*. If a Man says, That *Grace* is confer'd by the *Sacraments*, *Prayer*, or other *Means* Appointed of *God*, must he, in every such Expression, Add *All the Preparation* Requisite, or else must the *Position* be *False* and *Dangerous*? Or is it rather to be suppos'd, will not every body Suppose, that it be *Done Sincerely* and with a *Good Heart*? I will say no more upon this Point, because I believe the *Assertor* will *Inist* no more upon it.

But in p. 58. Ther is something has more the Face of an Answer, that is,  
to

to the Objection of putting it in the Power of the *Regale*, either to give us no more *Bishops*, or very *Bad* ones. He says, the *Dean* and *Chapter* ought not to Chuse an *Unworthy* Man, tho' Commanded by the *Conge d'Eslier*; nor the *Bishops* to *Consecrat* him, Though their *Refusal* cost them not only their *Estates* and *Liberties*, but even their *Lives* too. That is very true. But, 1st, What if no *Conge d'Eslier* be sent? And the *King* Designs (but does not tell you so) to let your *Bishops* Drop off One after Another, and to give you no more? Will you stay to the very last *Bishop*? Or trust your own *Jealousies* and *Surmises*, and Provide for your selves in Time? Which yet you cannot do, without Incurring a *Premunire*. Would not Men, in such a Case, be Apt to put the Evil-Day far off, and keep out of a *Prison* as long as they could? They would say, It may do well enough yet. Ther are so many *Bishops* left. And when they were come to a *Few*, then, It is too late. What can these *Few* do?

And, 2dly, as to keeping out *Unworthy* Men; A Man may be very much *Unqualified* for a *Bishop*, or a *Curat*; And yet we may not be Able to Assign such *Im-Moralities* or *Insufficiencies* as would stand the Tryal of a *Jury*, which it must come to in this



this Case. For it is now a Point of *Law*. And a Man would be much more Apt to say in this, than in the former Case, Come, come, We must not Break with the *State* for such a Matter, and, may be, have the whole *Church* Ruined, and *Presbytery*, or something else set up, as in *Scotland*: It is true, I wish a Better Man were *Presented*; but he may do well enough; And ther are other Good Men to Balance him; he may become Better in Good Company. We must let him Pass. Whether there be any Grounds for such Suppositions as these, let Matter of *Fact* Determin. Can ther one Instance be given of a *Conge d'Eslier* Refused since the *Reformation*? And we have Complain'd of Bad *Bishops* since that Time. If a *Bribe* Blinds the Eyes of the *Wise*; And he is not to be a *Judge*, no nor an *Evidence*, or upon a *Jury*, if he either *Gain* or *Loss* by the Cause: Is not a Mans whole *Estate*, his *Liberty*, and his *Life*, and all his Hopes of future *Preferment*, too Great a *Byass* to Corrupt his *Judgment*? And must the *Well-being* of the *Church* Depend only upon Men, who can be *Un-Concerned* for all these!

Besides in *Ireland*, ther are no *Conge d'Esliers*, the *King* makes *Bishops* there only by his *Letters*. And the

*Conge*

*Conge d' Eslier* is taken away Here by Act of Parliament, 1 *Edw. vi. c. 2.* Which was Repeal'd 1 *Mar. c. 2.* But that of *Mar.* was Repeal'd, 1 *Jac. c. 25. n. 48.* Whether that does not Revive the Statute of *Edw. vi.* is, I suppose, in the Breast of the Judges, when the King has a mind to it. And how the *Conge d' Eslier* came to be Dropt in Ireland, may be Enquir'd. But I think they are as secure There, as we are Here. For ther are as many Instances of the King's Letters Refus'd There, as his *Conge d' Esliers* in England. Whatever it Should be, it is Evident that, *de Facto*, All Depends Absolutely upon the Regale. If you will say, It is Best it should be so. That is Another Point. Then stand to it, and Justifie it. But Pretend not, when Pinch'd hard with the Consequences, to come off of it, and set up such Poor Reserves against it.

ii. The next that follows in the *Reg. Suprem.* is a long Dispute about the Meaning of the Word Priest, which begins, p. 59. And lasts to p. 65. This do's, tho' not immediately, concern our Subject of the Regale. Therefor I must say something to it. He says, p. 59. That ther are Priests and a Priesthood in the Church of England, In All Senses of the Words. But says afterwards in the same Page, Not

in the *Proper Sense* of the *Word*. How! In *All Senses*, and not in the *Proper Sense*! This seems Hard to Understand. One would think the *Proper Sense* of any *Word* had been the *Chief*, if not the *Onely Sense*. Words may be taken *Metaphorically*, and Apply'd to several things, as *Fire* may signifie *Anger*, and *Love*, and many other things; but the *Proper Sense* is still *Fire*.

But what is his Reason why not in the *Proper Sense*? He tells p. 61. He makes the *Ratio Formalis* of the *Priesthood* to Consist 'in Offering both Gifts and Sacrifices for Sins. And for fear of the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass*, he, as others, will Allow no *Proper Sacrifice* under the *Gospel Ministrations*, and consequently no *Proper Priesthood*. And I think Dr. Outram's Observation (upon which he Chiefly Insists) is not just, That the *Aaronical Priesthood* was Ordain'd Chiefly (which he has left out in the Translation, but I take no Advantage) for God, in things pertaining to Men: But the *Evangelical* for Men, in things pertaining to God. For was not *CHRIST*'s Sacrifice for Sins, and the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, for the Remission of Sins (as he Express'd it in the words of the Institution) as much, at least, in things pertaining to MEN, as the Sacrifices under the Law? I know not the Meaning of Dr. Outram's Distinction,  
for

for in all *Transactions* betwixt Two *Party's*, both *Parties* are Concern'd. And I take the *Proper* Notion of a *Priest* to be, a *Person* Authorized by *God* to Transact with *Men*, in His *Name*, to Seal the *Covenants* betwixt them; And to *Administer* them on Both sides: To *Present* the *Prayers* and *Offerings* of the *People* to *God*: And, on *God's* Part, to *Bless* them, *Absolve* them from their *Sins*, and Seal it to them, in giving them to Partake of His *Holy Table*, thereby Admitting them as *Guests* to the *Marriage-Feast*; which is the *Proper Office* of these *Stewards* of *GOD's Household*, whom he has *Commissionated* for that very Purpose. The *Methods* and *Manner* of this may *Alter*, But the *Office* is still the same. As *St. Ireneus* says (*advers. Hæres. l. 4. c. 34.*) *Sacrificia in Populo* (i. e. of the *Jews*) *Sacrificia & in Ecclesia, sed species Immutata est tantum.* That is, *There were Sacrifices in the Temple, there are also Sacrifices in the Church, onely the kind of them is Alter'd.* Tho' an *Office* may be express'd by any *Part* of that *Office*; yet that is not a *Proper Definition* of the *Office*. The *Definition* must be a *General*, which Includes All the *Particulars*, as that I have before given of the *Priesthood*. A *Receiver of Tythe* is made *Synonymous* to the word *Priest*, *Heb. vii. 8. 23.* Because it was *Part*,  
of



of the *Priests-Office*, So the offering of *Sacrifice* is a *Part*, and but a *Part* of the same *Office*; but no Proper *Definition* of the *Office*, more than that of a *Receiver of Tythe*. Which now would make the *King*, and All our *Impropriators* to be *Priests*.

There may be many things in a *Letter of Attorney*, or a *Commission*, and these may be *Alter'd* or *Chang'd*: But it is the *General words* of the *Commission* that *Constitute* any Man my *Attorney* or *Representative*, so as to *Oblige* me, by what he does, in my *Name*. A *Priest* is *GOD's Attorney* or *Representative* to *Mankind*. And the *Methods* of His *Entring* them into *Covenant* with *God*, have been *Vary'd*, yet the *Office*, and His *Commission* still the Same. Under the *Law*, *Eating* of the *Sacrifice*, was *Entring* into, or *Renewing* of their *Federal Covenant* with *God*. As it is said, *Psal. L. 5. Those that have made a Covenant with Me, by Sacrifice*. And thus it was *Understood* among the *Heathen*. Therefor it is said, *1 Cor. x. 21. Ye cannot Drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: Ye cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils*. And the *Reason* is given, *Ver. 20. That the things which the Gentiles Sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God: And I would not that ye should have Fellowship with Devils*.

*Devils.* That is, *Eating* Part of what was *Sacrific'd* to them, was having *Fellowship*, *Entring* into *Covenant* with them. Thus *Argues* the *Apostle* against the *Jews*, Heb. xiii. 10. *We have an Altar* whereof they have no *Right* to *Eat*, who *Serve* the *Tabernacle*. To *Eat* of the *Altar*, is, of Those things which were *Offer'd* upon the *Altar*: That is, our *Christian Sacrifice* of the *Holy Eucharist*. We *Offer* the *Elements*, before *Consecration*, upon the *Holy Table*; so it is *Directed* in the *Rubrick* immediately before the *Prayer* for the *whole State* of *Christ's Church*, then they are to be *Plac'd* upon the *Table*. After which done, the *Priest* shall say, *Lord, Accept* these our *Alms* and *Oblations*. *Alms* Refer to the *Money* Given at the *Offer-tory*, And *Oblations*, I take it, to the *Elements*, then *Offered*. And for the *Margin*, *When* ther is no *Alms* or *Oblations*, that is, Neither, *Offertory* nor *Sacrament*. But however the very *Placing* them upon *God's Holy Table* in a *Solemn Act* of *Worship*, upon his *Altar*, is a *Solemn Dedication* of them to *Him*. And then *Eating* of them from thence, is a *Partaking* of His *Table*, and *Eating* of his *Altar*. And *Altar* and *Priest* are *Relative Terms*. It is said, *Psal. xcvi, 8. Bring Offerings, and come into His Courts*. These were *Offer'd* by the *Hands* of His *Priests*. And it was the

the *Proper Office* of the *Priesthood*. These *Offerings* were *Sacrifices*. There were other *Sacrifices* besides the *Bloody-ones*. The *Prayers* and *Praises* of the *People*, which were offer'd by the *Priests*, were *Truly* and *Properly* a *Sacrifice*. The *Incense* was but a *Type* of them; and Ascended with them, *Rev. viii. 3, 4*. And for Invading this Part of the *Priest's Office*, the *Great* and otherwise *Good King Uzziah* was *Smit-ten. 2 Chr. xxvi. 16*.

For the *Bloody Sacrifices* were not the *only*, no, nor otherwise an *Essential* Part of the *Priests-Office*, than as they were made an *Essential* Part of the *Jewish Worship*. Yet not so *Essential* as the *Sacrifices* beforemention'd of *Prayers* and *Praises*; for these were *Obligatory* upon *All*, at *All Times*: Whereas the other was *Confin'd* to *Jerusalem*, because the *Great* and *True Sacrifice* was to be offer'd *There*. But there were *Priests* *Properly* so Call'd, in all the *Rest of Israel*, and who *Truly* Executed the *Priests-Office* to the *People*. It may please *God* to *Alter* the *Institutions* by which He will be *Worshipped*: but this *Alters* not the *Nature* of the *Priesthood* whom He *Ordains* to *Administer* them. It is like an *Ambassador* *Receiving New Instructions*. It makes no *Alteration* in his *Commission*. A *General Commission* to *Act* on the Part of *God*,

God, Implies all the *Particulars* that shall be given in *Command*. See the *Commission* first given to the *Levites*, Deut. x. 8. *At that time the Lord separated the Tribe of Levi, to Bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to Minister unto Him, and to Bless in His Name, unto this Day.* Here is nothing of *Bloody-Sacrifice*, yet the whole *Office* is here Included. The *Bearing* of the *Ark* Ceas'd; Yet the *Priesthood* did not Alter, tho' that be the *First* thing here Nam'd in the *Office*. But the last is the *Whole* thing, *To Minister to the Lord, and to Bless in His Name.* This is the *Whole* and *Proper Office* of the *Priesthood*. In what *Manner* and by what *Means* this *Ministration* is Perform'd, Alters nothing of the *Office*. And our *Bl. SAVIOUR's* *Commission*, which He gave to his *Apostles*; *As my Father sent me, I send you.* And, *whose Sins ye Remit, &c.* is surely as *Emphatical* as that given to the *Levites*. Yet the *Fright*, as I said, of the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass* would make some *Deny Priesthood*, in the *Proper Sense*, to the *Church of England*. Why? The *Church of Rome* her self calls that an *Un-bloody Sacrifice*. Such then are our *Oblations*, both of the *Money* we Offer, and the *Elements* before *Consecration*, and after we may be said to offer the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, while



while through the Merits of His *Pas-*  
*sion*, we *Interceed* for *Mercy*, and *Offer*  
 them to *Interpose* betwixt the *Justice*  
 of *God* and our *Sins*.

It is in this Manner, that *Christ*  
 does now *offer* them in *Heaven*, and is  
 for ever a *Priest*, tho' he is not to be  
*Sacrific'd* again.

Thus his *Priests* do *Execute* the same  
*Office* and *Priesthood* upon *Earth*, which  
 he does in *Heaven*; and this makes  
 them to be *Priests* in the most *Strict* and  
*Proper* Sence, even beyond the *Offering*  
 of the *Typical Sacrifices* before His  
 coming in the *Flesh*.

Besides our *Priests* in the *Church* of  
*England*, do *offer* another *Sacrifice* pur-  
 suant to *Rom. xii. 1.* which the *Church*  
 of *Rome* has forgot, and is not to be  
 found in all her *Canon* of the *Mass*,  
 but in our *Office* of *Communion*, the  
*Priest*, at the *Altar*, do's in our Names,  
*Offer* and *Present* unto *God*, our selves,  
 our *Souls* and *Bodies*, to be a *Reasona-*  
*ble, Holy, and Lively Sacrifice* unto him.  
 These are *Un-Bloody Sacrifices*. And  
 the *Church* of *Rome* Pretends to no o-  
 ther. Why then should we *Deny* our  
*Priests* to be such, in the *Proper Sense*,  
 because we have no *Sacrifice* to *Offer*? I  
 have been the Longer upon this, be-  
 cause it is a Mistake runs among too  
 Many. And this *Affertor*, p. 60. Squints an  
 Insinuation of *Popery* at those who think  
 ther

ther is a *Proper Priesthood* in the Church of England. And for my own part (says he) I cannot conceive to what Purpose a *Proper Priesthood* is thus drawn in by *Head and Ears*, unless it be to make way for a *Proper Sacrifice* too; And if that be his Reason, it is Easie to guess what Men wou'd be at. If what is said be of any Weight, then it Appears to what Purpose it is more Largely Insisted upon in *The Case*.

12. Here follows a Bitter Exclamation, p. 65. for saying, That if the *Commission* of the Church be *Divine*, it sets it Above the Power of *Kings*, as well as of the *People*. Upon which, says he, *Where, I wonder, had this Man his Education?* Certainly no Son of the Church of England ever vilify'd Princes at this Rate. Have not Princes a *Divine Character*, as well as Priests? Are they not as much the Lord's Anointed as Priests? Are they not as much the Ministers of God as Priests? And are the same things to be said of the *Beasts* of the *People*?

Soft and Fair, Good Sir! When your *Passion* is Abated, I will speak to you. *Kings* have a *Divine Commission*, and are the *Ministers* of God. Which you are Apt to Forget sometimes, and set the *Beasts* of the *People* Above them, to Judge of their Government, and even Depose them. Therefor, think again of the Great things said of *Kings*, That they have *Divine Commission*, are the

he *Lord's Anointed*, His *Ministers*, &c. And are the same things said of the *Beasts of the People*? But, Sir, they are of *Priests*, and *Greater* things than these, as you may see in *The Case*, p. 210, &c. (Here p. 202.) of which you have taken no Notice. And yet ther is no *Interfering*. The *Priests* have nothing to do with the *King's Divine Commission* of the *Civil-Sword*: But are *Subject* to it, even to *Death*. But then their *Equally Divine Commission*, in *Spirituals*, is as *In-Dependent* upon the *Civil-Sword*. Will that *Satisfie* you? Is this *Plain* enough?

But he go's on p. 66. And separates the *Person* from the *Office*, says, that the *Priests* may be *Depriv'd*, but the *Office* cannot be *Abolish'd*. But what becomes of the *Office*, when the *Priests* are gone? Where is the *Priesthood*, when ther are no *Priests*? Now to keep on the Comparison betwixt *Kings* and *Priests*, I wou'd have the *Affertor* call to mind, That it is made *Treason* to *Separat* the *King's Person* from his *Authority*: Which was the *Distinction* of 41. (We have Liv'd to see it *Reviv'd*) by which they Cut off the *Head of Charles Stuart*, without *Hurting* of the *King*! To obviat this very *Pretence*, it is told in *The Case*, p. 198. &c. (here, p. 192.) How great *Honour* was *Commanded* by *God* to be paid

not onely to the *Priesthood*, but to the *Persons of the Priests*. But this too has slipt the Observation of the *Affertor*. If we could see an *Office* Execute it self, without any body to *Administer* it, ther might be Room for this *Distinction*, till when, as the *Affertor* concludes this *Thesis*, p. 67. *It will be time enough to Consider of it, and not before.*

But as to the Instances of *Uzziah*, *Saul*, and *Jeroboam*, He puts All easily off, thus, That when we Allow *Princes to Administer Sacraments*; to *Commission Lay-Men to do the Office of Priests*; And to *Rake Dung-hills to fill Episcopal Sees*, it will be time enough—As to the *First*, There were other Parts of the *Priests Office* besides burning of *Incense*, and which it had been as *Unlawful to Inuade*. Witness *Jeroboam's Depriving of the Priests of the Lord*: The 2d falls foul upon the *Act of Toleration*, which *Qualifies All, whether in Orders, or out of Orders*, to do the *Office of Priests*, that is, to *Priests*, and *Administer the Sacraments*. To the 3d, I have spoke already, what is needful.

V. We are come now to his VIth *Thesis*, p. 68. *That Kings have Supreme Authority in the External Discipline of the Church* For which every word of Proof he brings, are these following.

*Viz.*



*Viz.* For all Forensick Jurisdiction does Depend upon the King. Nor can any Person be Cited into, or Proceeded against, in any Ecclesiastical Court, without his Licence and Permission. This is giving the King a Negative (with a witness!) against the Power of the Keys And the Church cannot Now Deliver unto Satan, without my Lord Chief Justice's Warrant! But this has been Spoke to before, Sect. III. N. i. And the Assertor here do's barely Assert; And offers not one word of Proof, more than I have Repeated, for this most Magnificently Scandalous Part of the Regale. Which Submits even Christ to the King! For He cannot by this, Ratifie the Censures of His Church in Heaven, without his Majesty's Licence. Because without that, they cannot be Inflicted upon Earth! Or if Inflicted, the Regale can give a Prohibition! Not only as to the Temporal Penalties Annexed by Law; But can order the Excommunication it self to be taken off! Which is the Sentence given in the Secular Courts, in such Cases. And I have heard of an Excommunication during the King's Pleasure, which is Committing the Keys of Heaven to him! But the Assertor go's on, According to Wont, to Expose and Triumph over The Case. He says, We are told indeed that Kings themselves have been Excommunicated, And Quotes The Case,

*Case*, p. 110. (here p. 103.) Where the Instance is given of St. *Oudocens*, which he do's not *Deny*, but *Rejects* with *Scorn*. They have put their Whole Cause upon *Precedents*. Yet when *Precedents* are Given on the Contrary side, what care they for *Precedents*? When *Constantine* Speaks against them, he was but a *Young Christian*, and Meant not what he Said! They were only some *Warm Words*! And it was *Impossible* that St. *Athanasius*, or *Hosius*, or Any other should say what they did! They can (that is, they fain wou'd) Prove Contrary *Practices* in them: They cou'd Write a *History of Passive Obedience* against them. And those Godly *Kings* and *Princes* who gave up their *Regale*, and said it was a *Most Wicked* thing, and would send their *Souls* to *Hell-fire*, yet did not do it out of *Conscience*! They had some *Fetch* or other in it! They were *Afraid* of the *Eclesiasticks* Perhaps! Or it was through *Bigottry* to the See of *Rome*! (as the *Affertor* Suggests, p. 36, 37.) Tho' they Refus'd the *Pope's* Grant for it when freely offer'd, and press'd upon them, and ventured his Displeasure in *Rejecting* and *Burning* his *Bulls* with *Indignation*! As is told in *The Case*, from Bishop *Burnet's History of the Regale*. And when, to get out of the *Objection of Popery*, this Instance of St. *Oudocens*

is Given here in *England*, before *Poper*y  
set foot in it, Then, *Princes* have Now  
More *Wit*, and *Bishops* More *Grace*!  
Which is the *Answer* here Given to it,  
p. 69.

And yet in the same *Page* (this Book  
is full of Wonders! ) the *Principal* is  
*Asserted*, That this *Power* may and ought,  
upon *Just Occasions*, to be *Exercis'd* even  
over the *Prince* himself, as *St. Ambrose*  
*Exercis'd* it upon *Theodosius* the *Emperor*.  
The same *Instance* is Given, in *Confir-*  
*mation* of the same *Principle*; in the  
2d *HOMILY* of the *Right use* of the  
*Church* which (as before Quoted p. 68.)  
says plainly that *St. Ambrose* did *Ex-*  
*communicat* the *Emperor*, and *Brought*  
him to open *Penance*.

Now why so *Angry* at *St. Oudocens*  
yet *Approve* so much of *St. Ambrose*? Be-  
cause *St. Oudocens* is an *Instance* here in  
*England*, and brings it nearer *Home*!

The *Rest* of this *Thesis* is spent a-  
gainst giving the *H. Sacrament* to *Un-*  
*Qualify'd* Persons, to *Fit* them for *Places*.  
Wherein I have *Nothing* to *Oppose*.

VI. His viith *Thesis* is, *Kings* have  
*Supreme Power* over *Synods*, to *Call* them  
when they see *Convenient*, to *Preside* over  
their *Debates*, and to give their *Canons*  
the *Force* of *Laws*.

1. To which I have already said,  
That *Kings* may *Call Synods*. And they  
may *Preside* in them, for this *End*;  
to

to see that they Assume not to themselves the *Civil Power*. And to give *Canons* the Force of *Civil Laws*, is Wholly in the *State*. But the Question is, Whether the *Clergy* may not Meet in *Council*, when they see Necessity for it, *without* the *King's Leave*, or even against his *Command*, if the Case so Require? And to do the *Affector Justice*, he *Grants* it in many Places: But in as many he *Denies* it, He says here, p. 71. *Were it in the Power of the Clergy to meet in Synods when they please, and to make what Laws they please, they might Corrupt Religion as they pleas'd, and ther wou'd be no Remedy.* But he Presently saw the Consequence of this, That *Religion* must be Trusted in some Hands or other. And that this wou'd put it as Absolutely in the Power of the *State* to Corrupt *Religion* as they Pleas'd. And then the Question wou'd come Naturally, In whose Hands *Christ* left His *Religion*, whether of the *Church* or of the *State*? And he Quotes *The Case* p. 13. ( here p. 16. ) That this wou'd Dissolve the *Church*, or make Her subsist *Precariously*, at the mere *Will* and *Pleasure* of the *State*. In Answer to which, he Throws at the *Author* the 12th Canon 1603. Where I take the word *Ecclesiastical* in the *Law* Sense, for such *Ecclesiastical Causes* as have their *Foundation* from the *Laws* of the



the Land, as the *Probat of Wills, Certificates of Bastardy, Legal Divorce, &c.* or such *Causes*, which, tho' in their own Nature purely *Spiritual*, yet have *Temporal Penalties* Annex'd to them, as *Excommunication, Heresie, &c.* And therefor, so far as the *Law* is Concern'd, must be *Cognizable* by the *Law*. In short, this *Canon* must be Constru'd in the same Method as those call'd *Erastian Acts of Parliament*, in *The Case*, Sect. ix. But if it cannot be sav'd from being *Erastian*, nor those *Acts of Parliament*, if the *Affertor* thinks so, then lies upon him, or those that so think to *Defend* them. *Truth* will not alter for them. And if they be *Wrong* they ought to be set *Right*.

But this *Canon* may be easily turn'd upon the *Affertor*. For in the very Next Page, p. 73. He Allows the Church to meet in *Synod*, without *Leave* of the *State*, that is, in *Cases of Necessity*. Now Ware *Canon*! For who is *Judge* of this *Necessity*? If the *Church*, She may meet when She will. And if the *State*, She can never meet without their *Leave*.

I wou'd here, it being in my way, Return the *Affertor's* Civility, in the next Page, p. 74. Where he takes occasion to give an *Obliging Character* of the other *Works* of whom he supposes to be the Author of *The Case*, and even

ven of that Part of *The Case* which touches not the *Regale*, but speaks of the *Pontificat*: And (*kindly* to him) Supposes, that it must be the Badness of the *Cause* which made his Performance come so far *Short* in that of the *Regale*.

But might not Another Consideration have come in his way? That since he lik'd every thing else of whom he suppos'd the *Author*, ther might be a *Reason* why he found himself oblig'd to Oppose him in *This* onely! Did this *Cause* touch no *Concern*, no *Expectation*! It did none of that *Author*, unless to Expose him to more *Displeasure*. And that do's not usually Byass a Man's *Judgment* to his *Prejudice*!

Others think this the *Best* thing he has done. And the *Papists* Except only against that Part of the *Pontificat*, as the *Assertor* do's of the *Regale*.

The *Quakers* Except only against what *Concerns* them. Which the *Assertor* Approves of.

And other *Dissenters* say, All had been well enough, if he had not *Medled* with Them.

Thus you see, Every Man to his Mind.

I believe that *Author* had no Design to *Displease* any body.

Yet would Rather *Venture* that, than be *False* to what he thought to be *Truth*.

And

And he thinks himself *Obliged* to *Any* who have but a *Moderat* Opinion of his *Endeavours*.

Therefor, in Return for that Author, I will own, That the *Aſsertor* has Juſt thoughts of the *Church*, and of *Episcopacy*: And that thoſe *Turns* and *Shifts*, which look ſo like *Contradiſti- ons*, were the Effects of his *Cauſe* which could Afford no Better. Or if he was Put upon it, the Excuse may be accordingly; what is done againſt one's will, has ſeldom the *Air* of the *Parent*. And if I gueſs right at the Man, it is the *Slighteſt* thing has come from him, Except *One*.

2. He Answers the Inſtances given of the *Difmal Effects* of the *Regale* by Biſhop *Burnet*, from whom *The Caſe* takes it, by laying it only upon the *Male-Adminiſtration* of thoſe *Princes*, which Answer may be given to the *Judgments* that have follow'd All *Uſur- pations*. But then, p. 76. He makes a *Comparison* betwixt the *Effects* of the *Regale* in the Hands of *Kings*, and of *Eccleſiaſticks*: But Inſtances only in the *Regale* of the *Pope*. And indeed there may be Work for a *Comparison* there. But to draw the *Concluſion* from thence to *Eccleſiaſticks* in the General, is, at beſt, not Good *Logick*. The *Primitive Government* of the *Church* was in the Hands of *Eccleſiaſticks* before the

the *Regale* either of *Popes* or *Kings* were in Fashion. And we us'd to Call those the *Purest Ages* of the *Church*.

3. He Repeats an Objection already spoke to, of the *States* oppressing too much, or suppressing the *Church*. And then gives her Leave to Fly to Her own Power. I need not Repeat what has been said to that. But I only take notice here of a Long *Quotation* he brings from *K. Char. I.* And thinks his Authority must not be Question'd. Whereas it is told, in the very *Pages*, 251, 252. of *The Case* ( here p. 230. ) which he Quotes p. 80. That the *Principle* of *Erastianism* did Prevail too much at that time. And the *King* himself might be Tainted with it, in some Measure. Which yet, is no Argument against his *Sincerity*, no, nor his *Martyrdom*, for those *Rights* of the *Church*, in Defence of which he laid his Head upon the Block. To this the *Assertor*, *nihil dicit*. But he falls foul upon *The Case* for Naming *Erastian Laws*; when before, that *Author* had Endeavoured to Clear our *Laws* from being *Erastian*. But have they not been so Understood, and Practised, especially in that *Rebellion* of 41, of which he then spoke? And if he could Clear them, in their true Sense and Meaning, from that odious Objection,



jection, I think ther is none ought to be angry with him. At least they may be Favourable to so good an *Intention*, whatever the *Performance* may prove.

4. We are now near an end. He begins p. 82. with his answer to several *Councils* that are Quoted in the Case, p. 108. (here p. 101.) But what are they Quoted for? It was to answer an *Objection*, That the *Regale* was all along the Constant and Uniform Doctrine of the Church; And *Provocations* were given, in most *Peremptory* Terms, to shew but one Instance to the contrary. But in Answer to the *Councils* here Produc'd, the *Affessor* falls a Battling the Authority of this and the other. For the 7th and 8th *General Councils* (saith he, p. 87.) as they are Call'd, they deserve no more Notice than the Council of Trent. But call them what you will, they are Good Evidence in this Case. The Point is a Matter of Fact, whether the *Regale* was Generally and Universally, even without any *Exception*, the Doctrine of those Ages? And what better Evidence wou'd you have than what those Ages call'd *General Councils*? We are not now saying whether the Doctrine be Good or Bad; but whether there was such a Doctrine? And the Council of Trent it self, is the best Evidence in the World, what was the Doctrine of those that Compos'd that Council.

Well then, we come to some *Councils* against which the *Affessor* has no Objections. 1. Council. Constant. A. D. 380. c. 6. this was the 2d General Council; There it says, That if any have a Complaint against a Bishop, he must bring it before the Synod of all the Bishops of the Province or Dio-

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cess. And if any shall Despise this Decree, and Presume to trouble either the Emperor, or the Civil Courts, or an Oecumenical Council with it, he shall, &c. And says the Assertor, p. 84. That if the Prince have no Power to sit Judge upon a Bishop, neither has an Oecumenical Council. But, by his Leave, the Case is Different. An Oecumenical or General Council is not Always in being, sometimes not One in many Ages. And if Appeals thither were Admitted from All ordinary Synods of Bishops, it wou'd be Perfectly an Eluding of Justice. But Kings and Civil Courts never Die, they are always forthcoming. Therefore this cou'd not be the Reason of Forbidding Appeals to them. And for what other Reason let the Assertor study against next time.

But ther is an Elder Council than this there Quoted, to the same Purpose, which Clears this Subterfuge, the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341. c. 12. which the Assertor is not at the Pains to give us, as he do's the Rest, for a certain Reason. Which he wou'd not have you Inquire, when he says of that of Constant. This is the most Pertinent of All his Quotations. And passes over that of Antioch, c. 12. only thus, It is to the same Effect with that of the Conneil of Constant. above. It is so. But if he had set down the words, as he did that Constant. it wou'd have spoil'd his Criticism (by which he thinks to escape) about Oecumenical Councils. For they are not Nam'd in this Canon of Autioch, which says, If any Presbyter or Deacon being depos'd by his Own proper Bishop, or a Bishop by the Synod, Dare Appeal to the King, seeing his Appeal lies to a greater Synod of mere Bishops, where he is to wait the Examination  
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of his Cause, and to Refer the Decision to them : But if, making light of these, he go to the King with it ; such an one Deserves No Pardon, nor ought to be Admitted to make any sort of Apologie, or to have Hopes of his being ever Restor'd any more. What was the Reason of this Great Severity ! What ! Not to be Heard ! Not to be Admitted to make Any Sort of Apologie ! How cou'd they tell what Reason he might Give for it ! No. Ther cou'd be. No Reason. It was making the Civil Power Judge in an Ecclesiastical Cause ; which they Look'd upon as a Total Giving up the Charter of the Church. They Understood not to say to the Sea of Civil Power ; Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further. To make King or Parliament JUDGE of the Deprivation of Presbyters or Deacons, much more of Bishops : To Dives't themselves of their own Proper Authority ; And when Dis-Arm'd, to think to Capitulate !

Now instead of the Assertor's saying, This was to the same Effect with that of Constant. he shou d have said, That of Constant. was to the same Effect of this ; for this was Elder. And perhaps some after this, being thus Barr'd from Appeals to the Civil Power, found out this Method of Eluding the Justice that was Ready to overtake them, by Appealing to an Oecumenial Council, which might not be till after they were Dead ; And therefor that the Council of Constant. Did Add this of Appealing to Oeconomical Councils, to that Canon of Antioch, but without the Least Umbrage of their Altering any thing of the Rest of the Canon, which by Repeating, they Confirmed.

The Assertor after this gives a short Account of several Canons of other Councils Quoted, which

he thinks not *Pertinent* to the Cause in hand. They are about settling the *Times* of the Sitting of the *Synods*, the Methods of Prosecution against *Bishops* and other *Clergy-Men*, in *Ecclesiastical* Causes, and other Points of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*: Which being by these *Canons*, wholly Preserv'd in the Hands of the *Church*, I think, with his Leave, are very *Pertinent* to shew, That She had no Recourse to the *Regale*, in Managing the Affairs of Her own Body, but Acted therein wholly *Independent* to the *Civil Power*.

But he comes, p. 86. to the Council of *I. liberis*, which says he, *Can. 56. Require a Magistrate to Absent from Church during the Year of his Duumvirat.* And Adds, *Here's a Magistrate Excommunicated, and that is something to the Purpose.* But it ought to have been Considered withal, that the *Duumvirat* was but an *Inferior Office*. And which moreover in those unhappy Times was not to be *Innocently Executed*. This is All he says to it. As to the First, the Title of this Canon is, *De Magistratibus & Dominantibus*, Of *Magistrates*, and *Rulers* or *Governors*, which Includes *All*, where there is no *Exception*.

For the Second Excuse, That the Office of the *Duumvirat* was not to be *Innocently Executed*, he shou'd have given us some Reason for it. Was it an *Ecclesiastical Commission* from the *Regale*? That the Objection lay against the very *Nature* of it. But if it was wholly a *Civil Office*; And that it cou'd not be *Innocently Executed*; Then it will Operate more strongly against the *Assertor*, and the *Regale*: For here is the *Church* Interposing her Authority most *Independently* upon the *Regale*. And *Excommunicating* not only a  
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single Magistrate, but *All* who durst *Presume* to take upon them a *Civil Office*, Established by the *State*, which the *Church* thought, *was not to be Innocently Executed*. The *Affertor* must throw us in this *Council* too, with the 7th and 8th *General Councils*, which he hath *Discarded* before. And I suppose, had done it, but that it is a very *Ancient* One. It was *Anno Domini* 308.

Next follows, *ibid* p. 86. his Answer to the 30th *Apostolical Canon* (31 is Added in *The Case*, only because in some Editions of the *Councils*, this *Canon* is made the 30th, in others the 31st) which forbids *Bishops* to be Promoted by Means of *Secular Princes*, under Pain of *Deprivation*.

To which says the *Affertor*. p. 86, 87. There were no *Secular Magistrates* then but *Heathen*. Therefor that this will not Reach the Case of *Christian Princes*. This is *Gratis Dictum*. If they are not *Excepted*, they are *Included*. But 2dly, The before-mention'd *Councils* were in the Reigns of *Christian Princes*; And they are the best *Expositors* we can have of the *Apostolical Canons*. And, by the way, These *Councils* are Receiv'd in the *Church* of *England*. 3dly, The *Affertor* p. 6. to 11. Argues the *Inherent Right* of All *Princes*, even *Heathen*, to this Power. He says, *All Princes have the same Right to the Regale or Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs; for that they hold it Jure Coronæ, in Right of their Crowns. And cou'd it indeed be Suppos'd* (says he, p. 10.) *that a Pagan Prince wou'd Exercise this Authority to the Ends for which God hath Entrusted him with it, ther is no Question to be made, but that it ought to be Submitted to; as the Decrees of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius for the Honour of the True God, Dan. III.*

29. vi. 26. But if God has *Intrusted* them with this *Authority*, it is not in the Power of *Man* to take it from them: No, nor to Hinder their *Exercise* of it. For what was it Given for, but to be *Exercis'd*? And how do we know but they will *Exercise* it *Well*, till they are *Try'd*? They may do *Well* at one time, and *Ill* another. They may *Mend*, like other *Folks*. But it seems the *Apostolical Canon* had no Mind to *Trust* them! They might speak *Fair*, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, some times; And in another *M<sup>o</sup>*, Throw them into the *Fiery Furnace*.

However this we have Gain'd, That Now, by *Confession* on all hands, *Christian Princes* have No other *Foundation* for their *Regale*, than *Heavens*. And if we may stop the *Exercise* of it, and the *Church* take it into Her own Hands, for her own *Preservation*, in Case of an *Infidel King* (I suppose he will give us a *Papist* too into the Bargain; and then why not a *Presbyterian*, &c.) who may be a *Vertuous Good Moral-Man*, and Love to see his *Subjects* Prosper, tho' of a Different *Religion*, and make Good *Decrees*, like *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Darius*, even to build our *Temple* to, as *Cyrus*; And wou'd Desire to see *Sober* and *Vertuous Bishops*, rather than *Wicked*, who might *Debauch* the *People*, in their very *Morals*: I say, if even in this Case, we must stop the *Exercise* of the *Regale*, in the Hands of such a *Wise, Sober, and Vertuous Prince*: How much more Reason is ther to take it from a *Young, Foolish, Profligat, and Debauch'd Prince*, who may be an *Atheist* too, though he was *Christen'd* in his *Infancy*! Yet he must have the *Stile* of Most *Serene* and *August*; Ay, and be *Pray'd* for too, as our Most *Religious* and *Gracious King*!

*King ! For these are only Titles to his Office ! And he will be Less Apt to Part with his Regale, or the Least Punctilo of his Prerogative, than a Better Man. And, like Saul, to Cut off the whole City of the Priests, if a Doeg do but Whisper him in the Ear. Therefor, if we will not Endeavour to settle the Regale, in the time of a Good Prince, a Bad One, will not Let Us.*

5. He Concludes with a Threat of *Excommunication* against the *Author of The Case*, from the 2d Canon of our Church, *Anno Domini 1603.* for Denying the *same Authority, in Causes Ecclesiastical*, to our Kings, *that the Godly Kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church.*

By *Christian Emperors* here, I suppose, is meant the *Good Ones*, as *Constantine*, who *Disown'd* any *Right* he had to the *Regale* ; and other *Godly Kings* and *Princes* who, when Possess'd of it, by the *Laws* of their *Country*, and *Prescription* from their *Ancestors*, yet gave it up, and *Renounc'd* it, as a *Most Wicked* and *Damnable* thing, that wou'd send their *Souls* to *Hell-Fire*, for such an *Encroachment* and *Usurpation* upon *Christ* and His *Church*.

We will not suppose, That the *Heretical Emperor Constantius* is Here Meant, who first *Usurp'd* the *Regale*, or others after him who *Continu'd* and *Improv'd* it.

Or if *Contrary Practises* of the same *Emperor* can be found, some times *Disowning* the *Regale*, and at other times *Pretending* to it : I hope we are at Liberty to Choose which side of such *Precedents* shall be found most Agreeable to the *Laws* of *Christ*, to the *Frame* and *Foundation* upon which He built His *Church*.

And

And for the *Godly Kings* amongst the *Jews*, it is the Express Argument of *The Case* to Allow the *Same* (but no *More*) Authority to our *Christian Kings*. And by this, that *Author* hopes that the Cause is Determin'd: Since, without *Criticising* upon particular Expressions, as what the *Thrusting* out of *Abiathar* Means, Whether it is to be taken in the *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical* Sense, &c? The Matter of *Fact* is *Evident*, past All *Dispute*, or *Denyal* of *This*, or any other *Affertors*, That it was not within the *Ordinary* and *Allowed Regale* of the *Jewish Kings*, to *Exanctore* the *Priests* of *Levi*; or to put others in their Room. For doing of which, One of their *Kings* was severely *Cursed* of *God*.

Therefor if Allowing *Less* to our *Kings* than the *Canon* Requires, do's Incurr an *Excommunication*: What is it to Allow them *More*? From the *First*, the *Author* of *The Case* is *Free*: But the *Affertor* is Manifestly under the *Second*. And the *Consequence* is, Not onely against a *Canon* of One *Church*, but of *Holy Scripture*, and the *Primitive Catholick* and *Apostolick Church*, which we *Profess* in our *Creed*.

And now, I think, we have quite done. For what follows from p. 89. concerning the 37th Article, is spoke to before.

If I have taken Needless Pains, and been too Minute in Reply to this Answer, I have only to say,

*First*, That it is the Onely One has yet *Appear'd*. And perhaps, may be the *Last*.

*Secondly*, It Argues More Respect to the *Author*, to leave Nothing he has said *Un-Consider'd*.

*Thirdly*, It may serve to set this Matter in a Clear Light, and Remove those *Popular Prejudices*, which Carry away *Un-thinking People*, without *Examining*.

21 April. 1701.

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